UNIONS: On the wane?

ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS JULY 1987 $2.95

CALIFORNIA Journal

GRIDLOCK!

The fiasco on California's freeways

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Does It Take to Complete New Public Finance Issues in this Era of Tax Reform?

RESPONS

For more information about a particular need, contact our investment banking specialist:

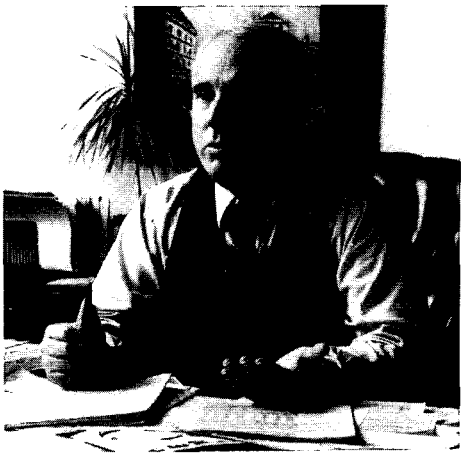
Greg Ballenger, First Vice President
Community Development
(800) 542-6288

Robin Brown, Vice President
Tax Increment
(800) 542-6288

J. Jeffery Kinsell, Senior Vice President
Local Gov't Financings
(800) 542-6288

© Copyright, 1987, Miller & Schroeder Financial, Inc. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Norman K. McPhail, Vice President

"The role of local government is changing. Local governments are becoming more involved in the economic activities of their communities. The large assessment type financings for new development infrastructure that many public agencies are undertaking provides ample evidence of this trend. Federal and state agencies are not providing adequate funding assistance and facilities because those agencies do not have the resources. At the same time federal and state restrictions have reduced cities financial resources both in terms of borrowing capability and revenues. Yet local constituents expect more and more. The financing constraints imposed on local government by tax reform are only a small part of much broader political, social and economic trends. Local governments' increased responsibility for local economic conditions is simply another side of those larger trends. Our Responsibility: Make ready for the new era. Bold thinking is required."

"The unparalleled cluster of financial capabilities available from Miller and Schroeder Financial, Inc. consultants and underwriters allows you to make a comprehensive analysis of your community's economic needs and resources. They have the unique capability of assembling the essential ingredients required to successfully undertake public-private development programs. This involves economic feasibility analyses, market absorption analyses plus an evaluation of the capital, revenue and asset resources that might be utilized. Miller and Schroeder's fiduciary Responsibility is to help citizen legislators and professional staff meet their commitment to quality local self-government."

"Miller and Schroeder Financial, Inc. is fully engaged in the process of combining local government resources and capabilities with local economic activity as a way for local governments to achieve their long range planning and economic policy goals. In this endeavor the full range of tax exempt and taxable financing methods are utilized to focus capital on the specific enterprise or development under consideration. I call this 'public-private enterprise' or an expanded form of 'participatory democracy'. This approach may become an absolute necessity for many cities within the next few years. Taking Responsibility for quality local self-government now and in the future is an important part of the Miller and Schroeder difference."

IBILITY

Miller & Schroeder Financial, Inc. **The Tax-Exempt and Taxable Municipal Financing Specialists.** More resources and better solutions for your public finance requirements. Put our **Responsibility** to work for you. For more information, contact:

MS **Miller & Schroeder Financial, Inc.**

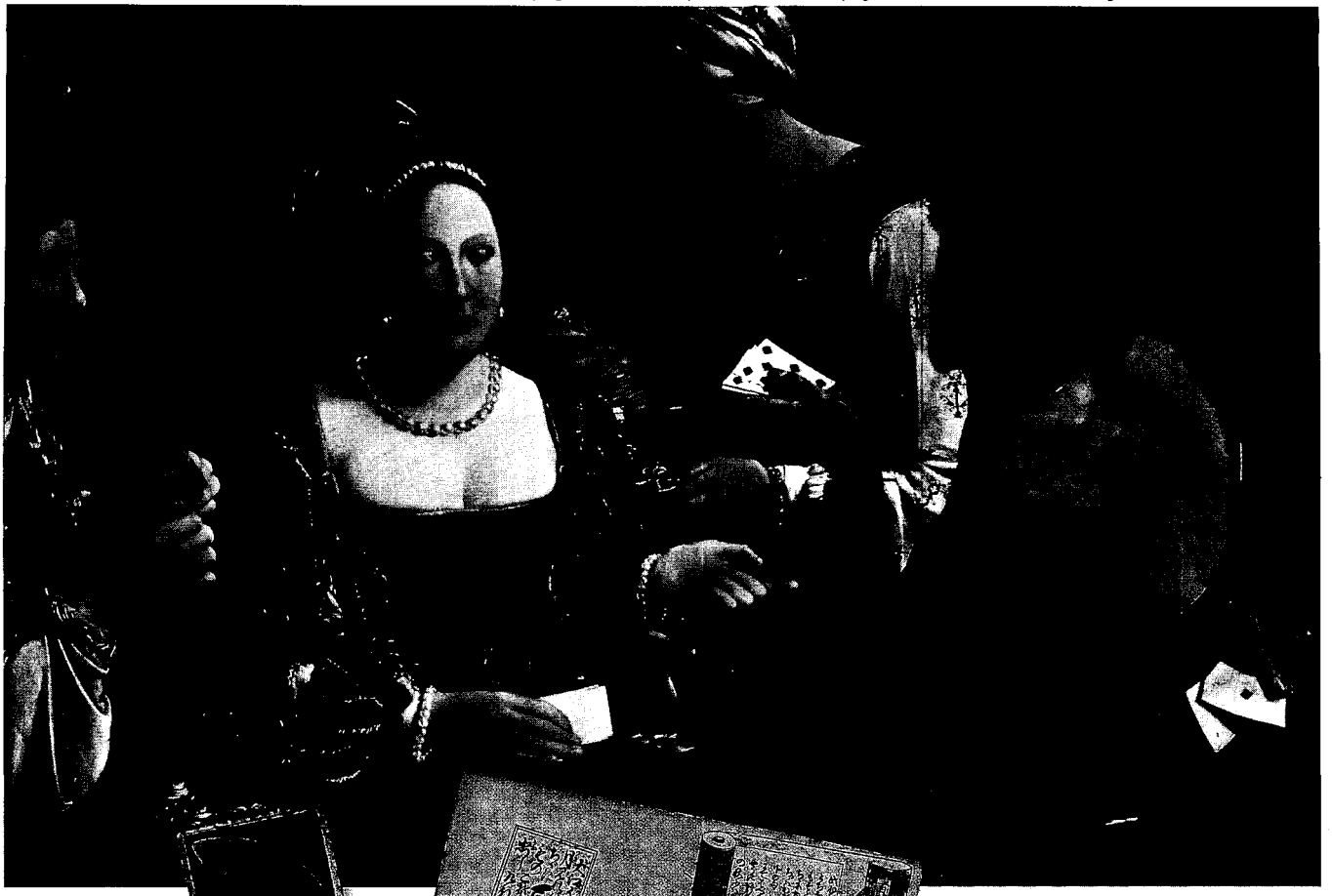
Member NASD/SIPC

James Iverson, Executive Vice President
505 Lomas Santa Fe Drive, Solana Beach, CA 92075
CA Toll Free (800) 542-6288
Local (619) 481-5894

Vic Subbotin, Vice President
50 California Street, Ste. 2545, San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 788-0505

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Le Tricheur à l'as de carreau" by Georges de La Tour (1593-1652). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Cards, top row: Two Chinese "domino" cards, a card used in the Japanese "karuta" game, and a card by the German publisher Cotta, 1810. Bottom row: From China, a "mah-jong" and two "shih-hu p'ai" cards. German Playing Card Museum, Leinfelden-Echterdingen.



Cards have come a long way since 618 AD. From ornate decks of 97 cards to decks of 78 to the 52 cards we shuffle today. With thousands of games created in countries all over the world. At GTECH we also create games designed to suit any market, anywhere. In California, Lotto 6/49 now yields twice as much for education per week as it produced at onset in late 1986. And there's more to come. Because California has chosen to play its cards right – with GTECH.

GTECH CORPORATION
3810 Rosin Court, Sacramento, CA 95834
916-925-5900

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XVIII, NUMBER 7 JULY 1987

The fear of gridlock 317

Can California's freeways be saved from a future of perpetual gridlock?

By Laura Mecoy

Richard Katz 323

The chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee has created an ambitious career by taking advantage of opportunity.

By Laura Mecoy

Union power 326

Does declining membership in California's unions translate to a loss of labor's political power?

By Bruce Scheidt

Teacher unions 328

California's two largest teacher unions talk about joining forces, despite their differences.

By Bruce Scheidt

Cecil Green rolls to victory 335

Green's campaign manager tells how the Democrats spent and spent and spent and won an upset victory in the 33rd Senate District.

By Larry Sheingold

The perils of precinct walking 339

A veteran walker relates dangers ranging from ferocious dogs to cocked shotguns.

By Robert Holmes

Ken Maddy 341

The Fresno senator is back in the spotlight as minority leader.

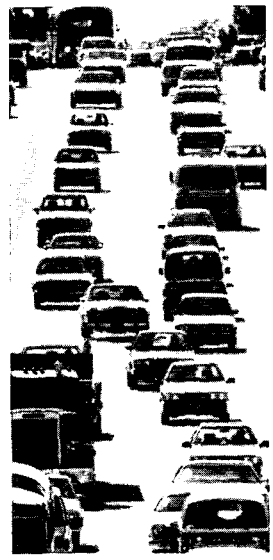
By Katherine MacDonald

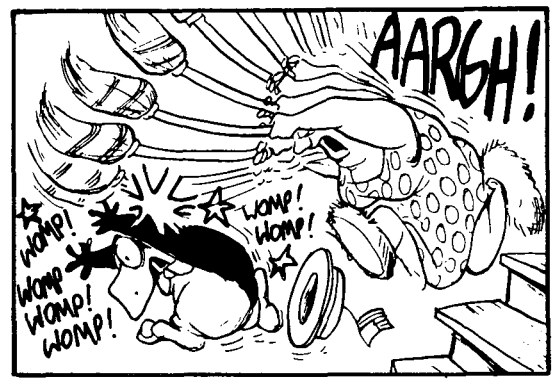
State boards and commissions 348

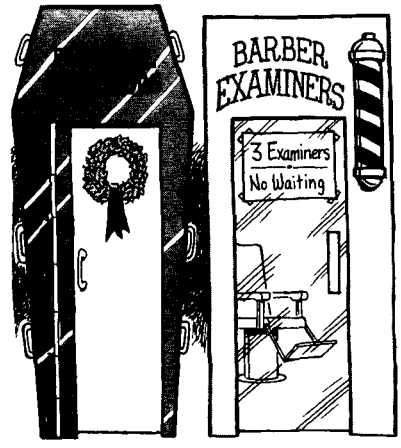
Do the state's consumer protection boards really guard the public?

By Teresa Watanabe

Up Front	314
Rostrum	316
Roll Call	354
Washington Perspective	356







President and Publisher: Thomas R. Hoeber, **Editor:** Richard Zeiger, **Managing Editor:** A.G. Block, **Art Director:** Chris Van Overloop, **Business Manager:** Barbara Rocco, **Assistant Editor:** Karin Petersen Hsiao, **Washington Correspondent:** Larry Liebert, **Contributing Artists:** Paul Duginski, Steve Greenberg, Tom McGee, Darrell Forney, Deladier Almeida, Bob Staake **Staff:** Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis, Karen Sullivan, Susan Uher.

Advertising Representative: Colt Stewart (916) 442-2284

Membership applied for

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $39; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual rate, $27.50. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

Copyright 1987 by California Journal, Inc.

Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT

When Larry Thomas, former press secretary to Governor George Deukmejian, departed Sacramento to work for presidential wanna-be George Bush, it was the cause of much partying, a few tears, and a substantial amount of revelry. Well, Thomas discovered they don't have as much fun on the banks of the Potomac. After just a few short months, Thomas quit the vice president's press staff to return to California. He said it was for "personal reasons," and that he still admires Bush. But apparently they just don't know how to relax back in the nation's capitol. Anyway, Thomas is currently unemployed but will be doing "a couple of consulting jobs," and says he won't be back in the Deukmejian administration, although he will be helping the governor's political operation. We also understand there's a movement afoot to try and get back all of Thomas' going away presents.

Assemblyman Tom Hayden can't see any irony in the fact that student protests at San Jose City College forced his cancellation as graduation speaker. It seems Hayden was invited to talk to a 190-member class that just happened to be 40 percent Vietnamese — South Vietnamese. And they haven't forgotten that it was Hayden and his wife, Jane Fonda, who toured North Vietnam during the height of the war. Threats of massive walkouts and protests forced cancellation of the speech, although Hayden was invited to talk next year. Some faculty members, however, invited Hayden to show up anyway this year — not for a speech but to receive an award. He showed up briefly, prompting a walkout by Vietnamese students. Hayden's explanation for the protest of his visit: outside agitators.

You are here — maybe. Paul Gann's 1979 Proposition 4 clamped a spending limit on every governmental entity in California; every city, school district, cemetery district, sewer district, *ad infinitum*, has its very own limit. Yet few so-called experts seem to know exactly how close various local governments are to exceeding their limits. Asked about her city's situation, the finance director of Waterford (population 3200, Stanislaus County), replied with a line that could have come from *Alice in Wonderland*: "I wouldn't know. Who would? I would, but I don't."

Dave Doerr, regarded as something of an institution around the Legislature, is out as chief consultant to the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee — a post he had held for over 20 years. Doerr was transferred to the Assembly Office of Research. When the announcement was made, there were suggestions in the press that Doerr's removal had paved the way for politicization of the Rev and Tax staff under the committee's new chairman — Democrat Johann Klehs of San Leandro. But Klehs scoffs at the notion. "Doerr was replaced as chief consultant by Ellen Worcester, who has been principal consultant for the committee for the past seven years," Klehs said. "She is a professional and is not more political than Dave Doerr." Doerr himself echoed Klehs' assessment. "She will do an excellent job," he said. "She's top notch." Worcester's place on the staff was taken by Jay Greenwood, who came to the legislative staff after 11 years as an analyst with the Fair Political Practices Commission.

Why was Doerr suddenly out? Klehs says that he and Speaker Willie Brown felt that Doerr's expertise would better serve the Legislature if the veteran consultant could be available to delve into long-range policy matters rather than be immersed in the day-to-day minutae of running the Rev and Tax staff. Doerr refused to discuss the reasons for his transfer. "I just won't say anything about it," he said. He also refused to discuss his new duties, quoting an internal Assembly Office of Research memo to the effect that all staff assignments were to be regarded as confidential.

Capitol sources say, however, that it took weeks for Doerr to get so much as a desk at AOR and, once there, he was left to cool his heels without any assignment.

Take my governor, please. Why was Governor George Deukmejian recently comparing himself to a cow with an inferiority complex? After receiving a particularly warm introduction at a World Affairs Council banquet in San Francisco, the Republican governor seemed embarrassed and said: "When you get an introduction like that, you're reminded of the story that they tell about the two cows that were grazing out in a pasture that happened to be situated right near a major highway. As these two cows are standing there talking to each other next to a fence, here comes a great big milk-tank trailer truck down the highway. And emblazoned across the side of the truck were these words: 'Pasteurized, homogenized and Vitamin D added.' And one cow turned to the other and said, 'It kind of makes you feel inadequate, doesn't it.'" Just another example of the old Deukmejian speech-making magic.

(Richard Paddock, Sacramento)

Excuse our blush, but we would like to announce that the *California Journal* recently won two "Maggies," the Oscar of magazine publishing in the

western United States. The first award was for "best series of articles" for the April 1986 special issue on the future of education in California. The second award was for "best how-to article" for the *Practical Guide to State and Federal Campaign Reform Laws*, authored for us by the law firm of Nielsen, Hodgson, Parrinello, & Mueller. The award was announced the same week that Governor George Deukmejian's former chief of staff, Steven Merksamer, joined the Nielsen firm. Incidentally, the 1986 "Maggies" join three others earned by the *Journal* in previous years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jackie Speier, the newly-elected assemblywoman from South San Francisco, wants to make sure we get her birth date right. Last month we reported that Speier was one of three legislators who refused to reveal their birthdays for our *Almanac*. We discovered Speier's by calling the registrar of voters in San Mateo County. Well, Speier took the revelation in good humor but complained that we had actually shaved a year off her age. We said she was born on May 14, 1951. Actually, it was 1950. "I don't want to be charged with having a Gary Hart personality," she said, referring to those aspects of the former Colorado senator and presidential candidate's personality that caused him to change such minor things as his name, birth date and handwriting.

At least they only sent a letter. Last month, we published a map showing the state's major military bases and defense contractors (see "Defense Dollars," *CJ*, June 1987). Apparently, we neglected to include two large bases in the Barstow area, which prompted a letter of protest from City Manager E. Wayne Lamoreaux. Lamoreaux points out that the Marine Corps Logistic Base and The National Training Center at Fort Irwin, located near Barstow, have a combined payroll of over $160 million per year. Writes Lamoreaux, "Our original thought was to roll a tank up to your doorstep to make the point, but thought better of the idea and substituted this letter."

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"Failure is not without its purpose."
— Benjamin Disraeli

THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE

Every institution has important messages it needs to convey to the public, to community leaders and to business. Millions of dollars are spent each year creating and refining these messages. Yet few institutions focus on the fact that the best-presented message in the world is worthless if it doesn't reach the right audience at the right time.

California Journal offers you the opportunity to present your message every month to the state's most exclusive audience: an audience of sophisticated and discerning readers who also happen to control the financial and legislative policies of the 7th largest country in the world — the state of California.

For advertising rates and information call:

Colt Stewart, Inc.
916-442-2284

or write:

Colt Stewart
1005 12th Street, Suite H
Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROSTRUM

The speakership

I must take exception to the analysis and conclusions in Sherry Bebitch Jeffe's article on the speakership in the May *California Journal*.

Her arguments are conceptually flawed and lead to unsubstantiated conclusions. While it is fine for analytical purposes to divide speakers into administrative or programmatic categories, that dichotomy is an artificial device which merely provides the structure to frame an argument. It is not holy writ. Evidentiary standards must be consistently applied. When a speaker is placed in either category, substantiating evidence should be offered.

Dr. Jeffe dismisses Speakers Robert Monagan, Robert Moretti and Leo McCarthy as having any claim to programmatic excellence, leaving only Jesse Unruh (for whom she once worked). In Unruh's case, a compelling argument can be made that he was the ablest administrative speaker of all. He secured a fulltime Legislature with adequate salaries and staff, the most sweeping administrative reform in legislative history. It is inextricably entwined with ensuing policy products. There is a built-in limitation to the administrative-programmatic division. A speaker who succeeds in neither category cannot hold the speakership. Speakers who master both sides of the equation clearly perform better than those who excel in only one category. Jesse Unruh was a great speaker, not because of his policy agenda but because his mastery of administration encouraged the full Assembly to undertake policy innovation. Unruh himself authored very little major legislation. The output of the Assembly under his leadership was the result of his committee chairs and other members pursuing public policy in an open environment.

The landmark Lanterman-Petris-Short Act, tax reform, local-government reorganization and school-district reform were the work products of individual legislators. The speaker's role was that of *political* leader.

The job of a speaker is to create an environment in which Assembly members can forge policy. When that occurs, the speaker deserves a portion of the credit. Under Dr. Jeffe's paradigm, previous speakers receive some credit for policy initiatives enacted during their speakerships. I am credited only with the bills I have authored. Yet Medi-Cal reform, AIDS research funding, education reform, and divestment were not only enacted during my speakership but were developed at my direction. I have been personally involved in other issues: interstate banking, unitary tax, the bottle bill, and South African divestment (to suggest my lack of visibility on this issue reveals a lack of basic research).

I have authored several laws which she omits, probably because they do not fit her analysis:

- the bank float bill;
- the "Pass to Play" bill;
- AB 3632, which guaranteed health and mental-health funding for public school children.

None was supported by special-nterest groups.

Her characterization of my seat-belt legislation as the product of a war between special interests is a distortion revelatory of a mindless need to shape evidence to a preordained conclusion. Seat-belt laws are a priority of consumer groups throughout the nation. A simple call to Ralph Nader, who publicly praised this bill, would have established that fact.

The most pervasive flaw in Dr. Jeffe's analysis is her inability to decide whether to approach this issue as scholar or as a journalist. She does credit to neither discipline. She sets forth, by rote, observations that professional journalists honestly label as opinion. She does so within the findings of an academic study. She neither answers the questions, nor does she substantiate their legitimacy. Rather, she moves from questions regarding "perceptions" to the conclusion that my speakership will rest upon campaign reform.

Whether my fate turns upon that issue is, at best, a judgment call. The accomplishments of the last several years will not easily fade. And future students of the speakership may well devise more refined intellectual tools than the elementary dichotomy of administration and program.

WILLIE L. BROWN JR.
Speaker of the Assembly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GRID LOCK

Can we untangle our freeway mess?

By LAURA MECOY

One red light blinks on. And then another and another, until several inches are illuminated on the wall-size map of Los Angeles' freeways. The lights could be signaling something as simple as a stalled car on the Santa Monica Freeway or as serious as an overturned truck blocking all the lanes.

Department of Transportation (CalTrans) engineers turn to their remote-controlled cameras and computers in the downtown Los Angeles Traffic Operation Center. Their task is to find out what is causing traffic to back up on one of the city's busiest freeways and then get rid of it. For every minute they take, four minutes are added to the morning commute.

The story is the same every weekday on the 750 miles of highways that link the sprawling suburbs of the Los Angeles Basin. A simple accident, a spill from an overloaded truck or even drivers gawking at a fire alongside the highway can bring traffic to a virtual standstill along freeways that must carry some 2.5 million vehicles per day despite what happens.

Phenomenal growth and California's continuing love affair with cars have turned rush hour into slow hours spent creeping along jam-packed freeways in urban areas from Sacramento in the north to San Diego in the south. The crush of cars traveling to and from work each weekday turns approximately 300 miles of California freeways into a stop-and-go grind for drivers and gives the state the distinction of having the most miles in the country lost to congestion.

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

The California Transportation Commission reports that in recent years traffic delay has grown almost twice as fast as the state's population and that motorists waste some 300,000 hours a day driving in bumper-to-bumper congestion. If those drivers were being paid for their time behind the wheel, the commission said their income would mean a $2 million daily boost to the state's economy.

As if that isn't bad enough, highway officials and Governor George Deukmejian are warning that it isn't going to get any better any time soon.

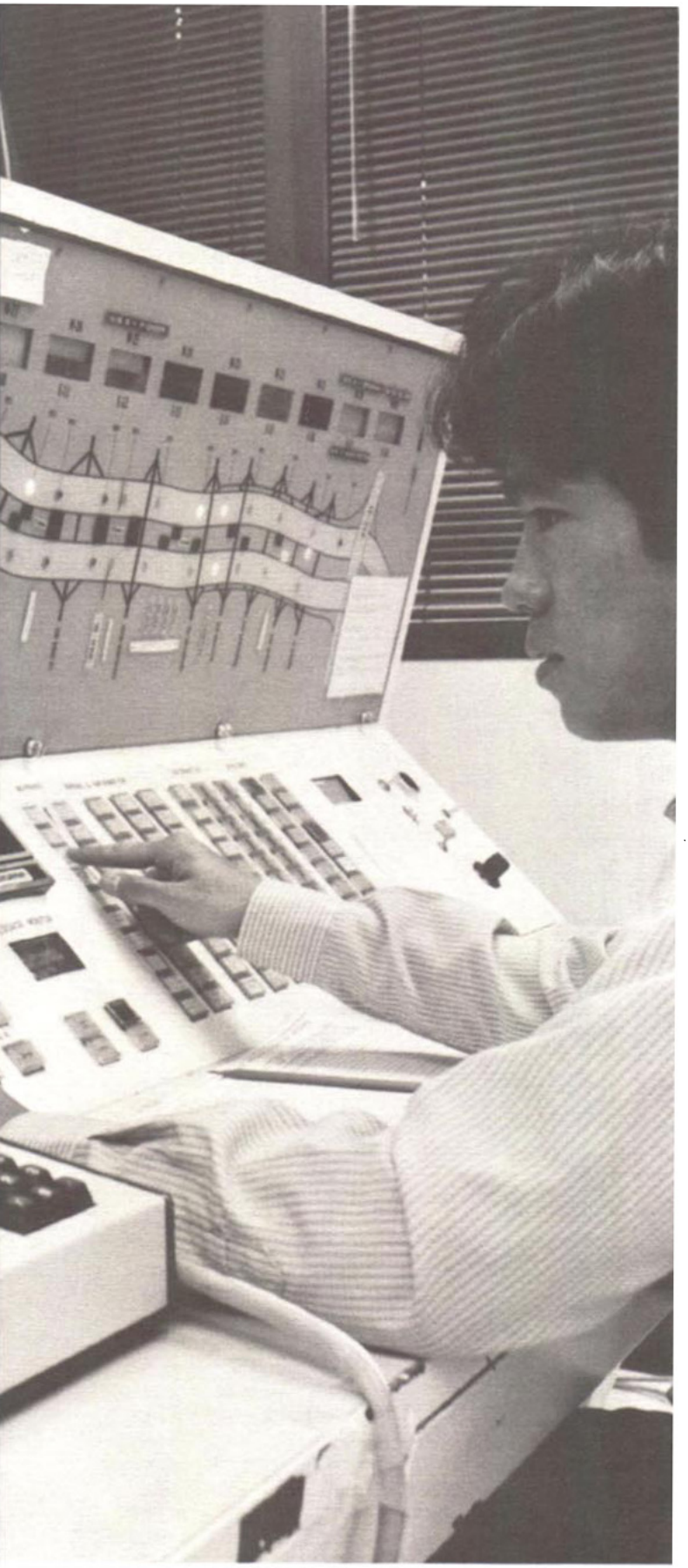
"Because our population continues to grow, congestion in California will only get worse — unless we substantially expand our transportation efforts from now until the end of this century," Deukmejian said.

The governor offered a three-pronged solution to traffic woes — a $2.3 billion general-obligation bond, expansion of traffic management efforts like those in downtown Los Angeles and increases in county sales taxes to ease local traffic congestion. Of the three approaches, Deukmejian's bond is stirring the most controversy because it represents a radical departure from the state's historical method of pay-as-you-go highway financing with California's nine-cents-per-gallon tax on gasoline.

Continued on next page

Laura Mecoy is a Capitol correspondent for The Sacramento Bee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Los Angeles Traffic Operation Center. Photo courtesy the California Transportation Department.

Deukmejian wants to ask the voters to approve a $1 billion bond in 1988 and another $1.3 billion bond in 1990 to pay for new highways, mass transit and other transportation improvements. The state would get 75 percent of the money, and local government would get 25 percent to relieve state traffic woes. The proposal would require no new taxes, and it would take only a small sum of money out of the general fund every year. But several lawmakers and special-interest groups oppose the bond proposal because it could cost 55 to 80 percent more than a direct appropriation and would take money from schools, health and welfare and other government programs they prefer.

Several legislators have introduced other ideas for financing highways, including Assembly Transportation Committee Chairman Richard Katz, a San Fernando Democrat, who proposed a $1.5 billion general-obligation bond for transportation. Republican Assemblyman Gil Ferguson of Newport Beach is proposing the state restrict automobile-related revenues that now go to the general fund exclusively for highways. Another Republican, Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress, and tax crusader Paul Gann also drafted an initiative that would spend some $600 million in gasoline sales taxes on freeways.

Regardless of the approach, most legislators say something needs to be done to relieve today's transportation woes and prepare for tomorrow's demands. By the year 2000, the state's population is expected to grow another six million, the number of vehicles to rise 15 million and the number of miles traveled to increase 30 percent.

Just how bad the situation is today depends on how it is measured. Estimates of need range from $800 million to $1.8 billion a year, and the money to meet those needs is shrinking at the same time highway demand is growing.

The Transportation Commission said inflation has caused state construction spending to drop 96 percent in the last 12 years — from $1 billion to $40 million when measured in 1986 dollars. It said that a state that once built an annual average of 100 miles of new freeways during the highway heydays of the mid-1960s is now adding just 10 miles a year to the system.

Repair bills have also come due on the hundreds of miles built in the mid-1960s. The commission reported that maintenance costs alone have grown tenfold, from $55 million in 1965 to $500 million today, leaving the state little of its own money for building new roads.

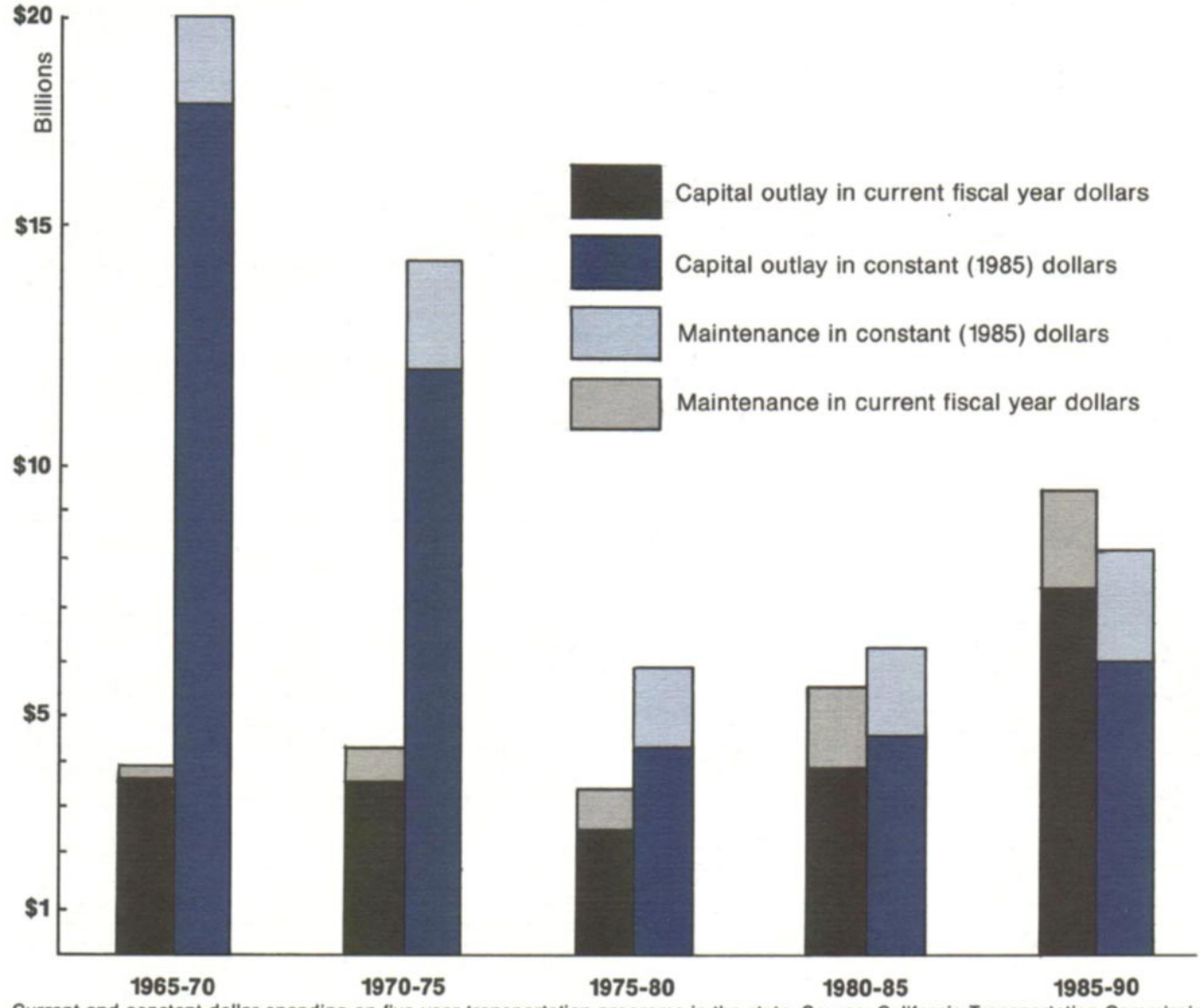
California relies on federal highway dollars to pay about 80 percent of all new construction. As a result, interstate highways make up one-sixth of the state's mileage but get two-thirds of the construction dollars because the federal government said those roads are its priority for expansion and improvement.

"The state has essentially abandoned the highway capital outlay business, except for providing the match for federal funds," the Transportation Commission reported earlier this year. "This situation has held true for the past 15 years."

Transportation Commission Chairman William Bagley said the state is going to have to play catch-up with its transportation system. He said the first $1 billion of any transportation-financing plan will be spent on fulfilling the state's current highway construction commitments — $600 million to attract $1.8 billion in federal dollars and $400 million to make up for changes in federal funds.

And, he said, the remaining highway needs could mean voters would face ongoing bond issues or other revenue-raising proposals for roads. Bagley has been defending the governor's first major plan to update the transportation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Current and constant dollar spending on five-year transportation programs in the state. Source: California Transportation Commission.

network as the best way to meet today's demands.

But Deukmejian's proposal to sell highway bonds is under attack as a method that would mortgage the state's future and be more costly and less reliable than the state's current source of highway dollars. The Associated General Contractors of California was the first to oppose Deukmejian's bond proposal. Its president said the state's gas tax is the best way to buy new highways and urged Deukmejian to reverse his opposition to tax increases long enough to raise California's nine-cents-per-gallon tax.

"This kind of financing system has permitted AGC to build one of the nation's best transportation systems," President Al Shankle said. "To switch to general-obligation bond financing puts the long-term care and improvement of the system in jeopardy, since every two years a new bond package would have to be approved."

California's gas tax is among the lowest in the nation, and TRIP, The Road Information Program, said it costs an average California driver just $56 a year. Gas-tax supporters also contend that it is a user fee that taxes only those who drive the highways.

But gas-tax revenues haven't kept pace with inflation, and fuel-efficient cars have caused the number of gallons sold to level off. The Transportation Commission said today's gasoline-tax revenues are just 30 percent more than they were 20 years ago — "far from matching the 325 percent inflation" during the same period. Deukmejian also said it doesn't make sense to raise taxes at the gasoline pump at the same time the state is giving taxpayers a $700 million refund.

"The use of bonds is a recognized and respected method of funding large, long-term public works projects," the Republican chief executive said. "Bonds helped build our state, including the construction of our public schools, our colleges and universities. I have chosen this source of revenue because, like schools, our freeways, roads and transit systems benefit everyone, not just the owners of vehicles."

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, however, charged that bonds were "prohibitively expensive" and would "double the cost of a roadway." (He had, however, supported highway bonds earlier in the year when he became a co-author of Katz's $1.5 billion general-obligation bond proposal.)

Manuel Mateo, chief of the state treasurer's trust services division, said interest and commissions on bonds cost an additional 75 to 80 cents for every dollar financed by a 20-year issue. For shorter term issues, which is what the governor hopes to use, the cost drops to 55 to 60 cents per dollar, Mateo said.

School Superintendent Bill Honig said that's too expensive. He contended that every extra cent spent on highways comes at the expense of the schools because education usually takes about half the general fund.

"Everybody is dancing around here because they do not want to say 'raise taxes'" he said. "They are willing to pay 70 percent more just so nobody has to say 'We raised the gas tax.' It's a game that's being played."

Bonds have indeed become the most popular financ-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing game in the Capitol since the state budget collided with the Gann spending limit this year. The 1979 voter-imposed limit ties spending to inflation and population growth and requires any revenues over the limit be returned to voters within two years — with some notable exceptions. Money spent on bonds is exempt from the limit, making it possible for lawmakers to spend money on bonds that would otherwise be returned to the taxpayers.

Mateo said the state spends 1.5 percent of its general fund on bond payments, or about $520 million in the 1986-87 budget. He said the state is safe as long as the total remains less than 5 percent of the general fund because that is what it takes for California to keep its AAA bond rating. This year, lawmakers have proposed another $13 billion in bonds for school construction, water projects, child-care centers and other public works. The projects will undoubtedly be pared down in the last days of the session.

But despite the annual pruning of bond proposals, California's debt payments have grown faster than the tax revenues the state receives to pay for them, and that's not likely to change. Building costs have boomed and the price of new prisons, schools and other public works is larger than the public's pocketbook. If this year is any indication, the state is likely to keep borrowing money to keep up with the demands of its drivers, its students and its criminals.

Bagley

Deddeh

In the Assembly's Republican Caucus, however, Ferguson claims to have found a "free lunch" for highways that wouldn't take bonds or a tax increase. Rather than return the Gann excess revenues to taxpayers, he would ask voters to approve a plan to dip up to $1.7 billion annually from the general fund and put it into highway spending. The new highway dollars would come from gasoline and motor vehicle sales taxes that currently flow into the general fund. Ferguson said that's what's needed to tackle today's traffic "crisis."

"This state went from number 49 (in terms of per-capita spending on highways) under Governor Brown to number 50 under the Duke," the Newport Beach Republican said. "The need is very clear. It's about $25 billion in new highways up to the year 2010. The only way you get to $25 billion is to start paving concrete as fast as you can."

Another proposal by Ferguson's Republican colleague, Allen, and Gann would put an initiative on the ballot that would boost highway spending by $600 million by transferring just the gasoline sales tax to transportation. Gann said his initiative would exempt gasoline sales taxes and per-gallon taxes from the spending limit he helped enact by initiative in 1979. It may seem odd for him to propose the exemption, but Gann said he never intended for "user fees," like the per-gallon tax on gasoline or the sales tax on fuel, to be included in the spending limit.

Gann, however, is troubled by the idea that his proposal might be in conflict with the governor's and by protests from others who rely on the general fund. He is reworking his proposal to alleviate some of the problems.

With Gann, Ferguson and Deukmejian vying for their support, Republicans have been slow to support any particular program. They expect many changes so they are waiting to see the final bill. But Assemblyman Bill Leonard, a Redlands Republican, said he's waiting to see if CalTrans could spend the extra money. He plans to hold hearings of his Ways and Means subcommittee to investigate the legislative analyst's report this year that CalTrans spends just 50 to 65 percent of each year's appropriation over a two-year period, and that the department has about $400 million a month in cash that is not obligated to any project.

CalTrans Chief Deputy Director Heinz Heckeroth said unexpected delays in highway projects stall spending. But, he said, all the money is eventually spent.

John Sullivan, Business, Transportation and Housing Secretary, contended CalTrans will spend the money faster after it gets the additional 400 engineers Deukmejian proposed in his 1987-88 budget and after the Legislature approves "contracting out" state road work to private engineers — a proposal that is staunchly opposed by state employee groups and that failed last year in the Legislature.

Deukmejian, who has prided himself on never signing a major tax increase during his four-plus years in the governor's office, is today urging county officials to do just what he claims to have avoided — raise taxes. The Republican chief executive is supporting a bill that would allow each county's residents to vote to increase their local sales tax by up to one cent to pay for transportation improvements because government can reap more revenues from the sales tax than from the gas tax. Raising $1.3 billion a year, for instance, would require a 140 percent increase in the gasoline tax — from nine cents to 22 cents. The same amount could be raised by a one-half cent sales tax hike in all 58 counties.

Three counties have already voted a one-half cent increase — Alameda, Fresno and Santa Clara. And several, including Sacramento County, are considering a local sales tax hike to solve their transportation problems.

Estimates on just the repair and maintenance bill for local streets and roads range from $410 million to $1.7 billion needed annually. County Supervisors Association and the League of California Cities certainly recognize that need, but they view the increasing use of local dollars on California's freeways as confirmation that the state is backing away from its historic commitment to build and pay for its highway system. Other detractors have argued that sales-tax financing could produce a patchwork highway system that is skewed to local, rather than statewide, needs. The state'sTransportation Commission said rural and stagnant communities would probably not be able to afford new highways while those economically strong counties with a growing sales-tax base would.

"For a state whose continued economic growth is based on effective transportation of products and materials, the lack of an integrated statewide transportation system could adversely impact California's overall economy," the commission concluded in its annual report to the Legislature.

Lawmakers are also complaining about sales-tax hikes. Several Republicans say a two-thirds vote should be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

required to increase taxes. Some Democrats prefer other methods of paying for highways and some object to having a tax system that varies from county to county. But many of these same legislators, like Democratic Assemblyman Rusty Areias of Salinas, are carrying bills for their home counties to raise sales taxes while grumbling about the method. Areias said they have no choice.

"Deukmejian's done a lot of gum beating about highways, and the only leadership he's providing is having the transportation commission and the director of transportation out promoting a sales-tax system they are not even convinced is the best way to proceed," Areias said. "Also, the governor can run around saying, 'I saved this state from Jerry Brown's deficit, and I didn't raise taxes.' The fact of the matter is, only 84 miles were built in the best three years Deukmejian was governor. And Jerry Brown built 100 miles in his worst three years."

Brown's highway miles do indeed out-distance Deukmejian's. But highway officials say that's because roads take so many years to build. They said the miles built under Deukmejian were actually designed during Brown's term. And that the miles built under Brown were actually designed during Ronald Reagan's term in the governor's office. Brown and Reagan were also largely responsible for unprecedented growth in the state's highway budget since Deukmejian took office.

Brown signed a two-cent gasoline-tax increase while in the governor's office and Reagan signed a five-cent hike in the federal gasoline tax at the White House. Both went into effect when Deukmejian took office in 1983. Since then, the state's five-year transportation plan, which is officially known as the State Transportation Improvement Plan or STIP, has grown to almost $13 billion with federal and state funds.

But, even with all that money, highway officials say they can't build the state out of its problems. They say Californians are going to have to start car-pooling, telecommuting, using mass transit, working different hours and trying other innovative approaches if they want to prevent gridlock on their freeways.

The whole world was watching the Los Angeles freeways during the 1984 Olympics and expecting the worst traffic jam in history. But the City of Angels had free-flowing freeways for the first time in years, even though more cars were traveling on those highways than before.

The difference was the unprecedented cooperation between government and private enterprise during the 16 days of the international sports competition. They kept trucks off the freeways during the daytime. Businesses opened at varying hours to reduce the crunch of cars driving into work at the same time. And the city activated a mass-transit system that got spectators quickly from one event to another.

Thus, the most successful example of how managing traffic can reduce the congestion that clogs the city's freeways, gave birth to the "Olympics Legacy." It is a continuing, although much less successful, effort by Los Angeles-area governments and business to reduce rush hours and make greater use of the highways they have.

Building new freeways in developed areas like Los Angeles is prohibitively expensive and time-consuming. Los Angeles' Century Freeway is costing the state $100 million a mile because it is putting roads through existing neighborhoods. It has become a sizable housing project for the 6000 displaced homeowners and taken more than 20 years to get through the courts and begin construction. It's still not finished.

When Deukmejian announced his transportation plan, he told Californians the state would have to find new ways to get rid of traffic delays. He called for increasing "the options for when and how Californians travel" and promised to use the most modern techniques to relieve congestion.

"We want to provide you with the excellent quality of life you have a right to expect as residents of America's leadership state," he said. "This 21st Century transportation plan is essential to achieving those goals."

This part of the governor's plan is the least controversial, even though efforts by the last administration to manage traffic were disastrous. Former CalTrans Director Adriana Gianturco drew protests throughout the state when she had diamonds painted on existing freeway lanes and restricted them to car pools.

CalTrans learned its lesson and today it only converts new lanes into what are now called "high-occupancy vehicle" lanes for car pools. Its officials still talk about other significant lifestyle changes that would ease congestion, like having commuters work by computer from home or banning trucks from the freeways during certain hours.

But today CalTrans relies on high-tech gadgetry more than it does on lifestyle changes to ease congestion. At the Los Angeles Traffic Operations Center, those lights on the freeway map indicate where magnetic loops are embedded at half-mile intervals into 250 of the 750 miles of freeway in the basin. The loops measure the speed of the cars crossing over them. When the cars are traveling at less than 20 miles per hour, a red light blinks on. When they are moving at 20 to 35 miles per hour, an amber light is illuminated. And, when the traffic flows at faster than 35 miles per hour, bright green lights glow.

Engineers in the traffic operations center monitoring these lights check Highway Patrol reports and use closed-circuit television cameras mounted along the freeways and controlled from downtown to discover causes of delays. They alert drivers upstream of an accident by typing a warning that is sent via telephone lines to one of the signs along the Santa Monica Freeway and at other freeway interchanges throughout the Los Angeles area. CalTrans also notifies local radio stations so they can inform their listeners.

The department hopes the information will keep some cars off a stalled freeway and prevent a traffic jam from building. It also tries to reduce the number of cars coming on to almost any crowded highway by stopping oncoming cars with computer-controlled stoplights at the on-ramps.

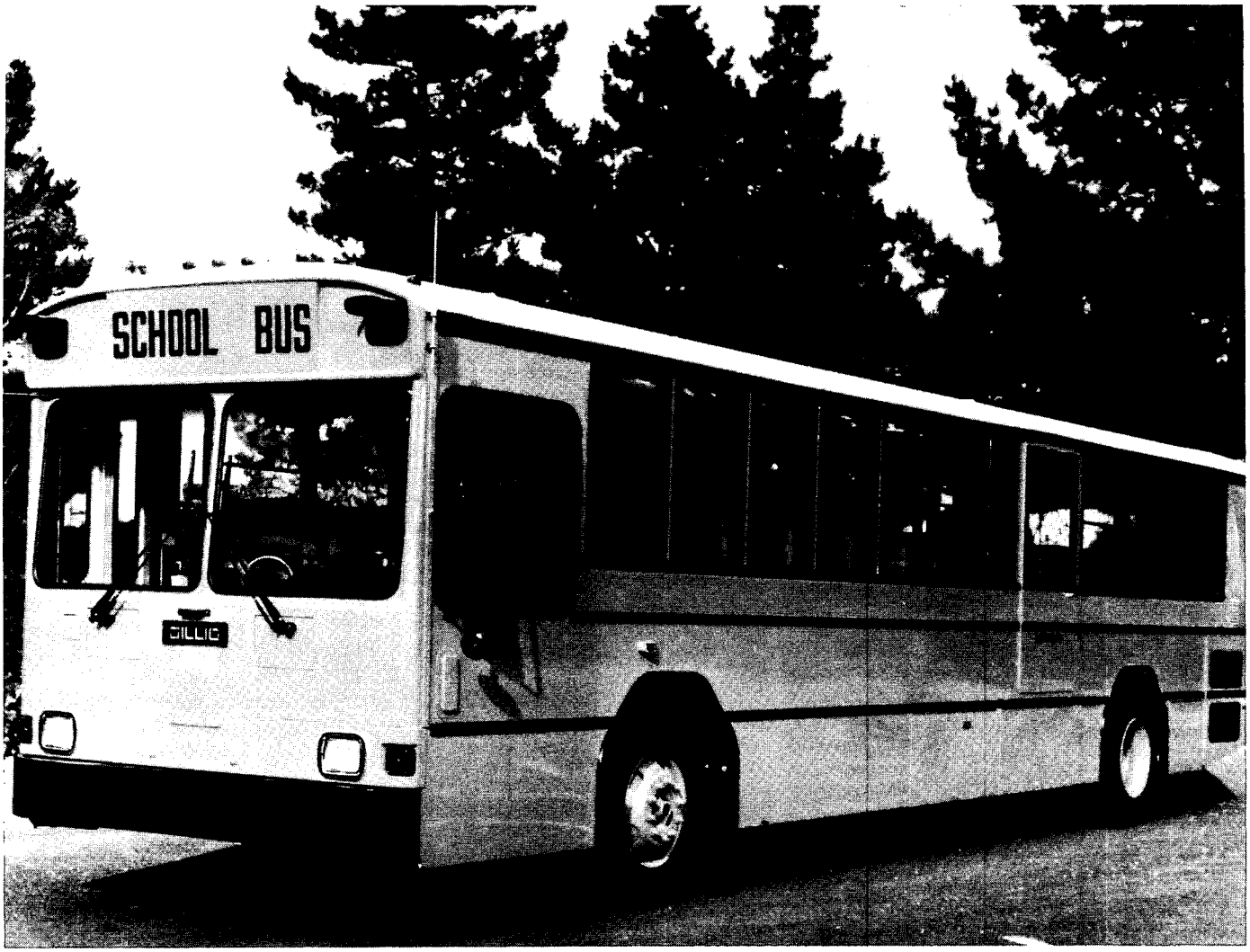
The state is expanding this technology to San Francisco and San Diego because it estimates that California gains five dollars in reduced congestion and travel time for every one dollar spent on today's traffic management methods. CalTrans is also studying even more modern solutions, including a freeway of the future that would actually drive the car and be able to squeeze more vehicles in less space. It's examining instruments that navigate for the driver and could eventually be used to communicate directly with a vehicle's occupants. And, it's testing toll booths where the cars don't have to stop.

Highway officials say this new technology is already proven. It just needs more testing and some public acceptance.

Whether it is because of the new technology, better highways or worse highways, the commute of the future will undoubtedly be different than today's. The question that remains is whether it will better or worse. Legislators and the voters may get a chance to decide what the answer will be in the next year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement



We take care of kids, too.

GILLIG

25800 Clawiter Road
Hayward, CA 94545
(415) 785-1500

Effective Transportation For Effective Schools

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASSEMBLYMAN RICHARD KATZ

Creating opportunity; serving ambition

By LAURA MECOY

Richard Katz was just another small businessman putting together politicians' campaign pamphlets when he decided he could do what his customers did. He'd become a print shop owner by sheer chutzpah, claiming expertise he didn't have, then hastily learning the job. He'd been successful at that. Being a politician seemed an easy step for someone who had been dabbling in politics since he put John F. Kennedy bumper stickers on cars at the age of 10.

"You see all these people you read about in newspapers and you think maybe they are something special or they are different from everybody else," he said. "I looked around and I said, 'I can do what they do and I think I can do it better than some of them.'"

His confidence and crystal-clear ambition carried Richard Katz to where he is today — serving a fourth term in the state Assembly and heading up that house's Transportation Committee. But those same qualities have marked him in the Legislature as someone whose motives are somewhat suspect.

He's been good at getting media attention — a source of envy among some of his colleagues. He comes from the vote-rich valleys north of Los Angeles — another source of envy. Philosophically, he's where most of the voters are in the polls — somewhere between conservative and liberal.

As a result, the words "ambitious" and "partisan" are often linked to his name. But even his detractors have little else to complain about. Richard Katz is a nice guy. He's smart. He likes to tell a good story. He's quick with the repartee. He hasn't any real negative marks on his record. And he's part of Speaker Willie Brown's leadership team.

He's accomplished that despite the fact he didn't back Brown in his original quest for the speaker's post. And he's accomplished that despite the fact that, at age 36, he is one of the younger, more moderate Democrats who often butt heads with older, more liberal members like Brown.

Katz has carried the Democrats' flag on toxics and education issues, but he's also carried tough-on-crime measures, like the bill he has now to make prisoners serve longer terms. He supports the death penalty and opposed Chief Justice Rose Bird — both positions opposite to the speaker's but in line with the electorate.

Continued on next page

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Katz traces what may seem to be a dichotomy in political attitudes to the life and death of one of the state's better-known Democrats and one of Brown's former allies. He traces it to George Moscone, a man he met when Moscone launched an abortive bid for governor in 1973.

Moscone dropped out of the race and went on to become San Francisco's mayor. But his political career and Katz's liberal views on crime were snuffed out when Dan White shot and killed Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk in a rage on November 27, 1978. White was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and served just five years. The crime and the sentence shook Katz.

"Moscone's assassination and how that was all handled is where a lot of my crime stuff comes from," Katz said. "You can't watch that happen to somebody you are close to and watch the way that was handled and not form certain views about crime and punishment."

Moscone's life also showed Katz where to channel his political ambitions. Katz was just starting law school when he took a job in Moscone's Los Angeles office for the latter's gubernatorial campaign. There the young law student got a close-up view of Moscone and saw a sort of political everyman. He remembers how Moscone could go from a meeting with dock workers to a formal black-tie dinner and seem right at home at both. He recalls a politician who could get a liberal agenda into law even with Ronald Reagan in the governor's office. Katz began to believe that in the halls of the state Capitol, one person could make a difference.

"I was coming out of the '60s and real idealistic," he said. "George Moscone showed me you can still maintain a basic morality and an idealistic bent. But you can also get the job done and make a difference in people's lives. He showed me it was okay to compromise as long as you didn't lose sight of what the goal was."

Katz dropped out of law school and talked his way into a job at a small printing shop by claiming he knew layout and design. He had worked on the college's alternative newspaper, *Talking It Over*, but he didn't know nearly as much as he claimed. He bought a book on the subject, solicited help from a graphic-artist friend and bluffed his way through.

He began free-lancing, saved his money and opened his own business in 1975. He had been around political campaigns and party politics long enough to know they needed a one-stop print shop. He became just that, built a business and gained valuable political contacts.

He launched his bid to unseat Assemblyman J. Robert Hayes on a cold, rainy Sunday in 1980 with a group of friends going door-to-door to collect signatures to avoid the filing fee. "It seemed like a lousy idea at the time," Katz recalled.

Howard Berman and Leo McCarthy, who were fighting for the Assembly speaker's post at the time, also thought his candidacy was a bad idea. Both advised Katz to drop out. They thought Jim Keysor had the greatest chance of winning because Keysor had held the job before Hayes defeated him in 1978 and had greater name recognition than a print shop owner named Katz.

Katz hung on just the same. He had once before given up on something he really wanted — the high school basketball team — and he still remembers that with regret.

"For the rest of your life, you kick yourself because you think at least you should have tried," he said.

He wasn't going to make the same mistake twice.

Keysor dropped out before the filing date. Katz defeated the Republican incumbent by supporting an issue that was particularly popular among senior citizens and consumer groups. He argued for putting prices on every item in a store. Store owners were converting to bar codes that automatically told cash registers the price of a product, and they didn't want to have to put the little price tags on their goods any longer. Katz opposed the store owners and made item-pricing his first piece of legislation when he took office in 1981. Ever since then, despite Republican threats to unseat him, he's won election in a district that is growing increasingly conservative and Republican.

Three years ago, after Katz won his third of four terms, he replaced Bruce Young as chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee. Young had been under investigation for his dealings with fireworks king W. Patrick Moriarty and decided not to seek re-election.

Transportation was not Katz' first choice. He would rather have chaired the toxics or water committees. But both had capable leaders already, and transportation was an issue that would play well along the crowded freeways of his district.

Within a year, Katz capitalized on newspaper reports of overtime abuse in the state Department of Transportation. Katz held hearings about the irregularities, scheduled press conferences to announce auditor general investigations and got publicity throughout the state. Meanwhile, his counterpart in the Legislature's upper house, then-Senate Transportation Committee Chairman John Foran, was trying to squeeze extra highway dollars out of his fellow lawmakers.

Katz said he left the difficult financing questions to Foran because the San Francisco Democrat knew so much more about it at the time. Then Foran decided not to seek re-election last year and Katz became the more experienced of the two Transportation Committee chairmen — only this time he found he was being upstaged by the new kid on the block, who was getting all the publicity.

Katz was the first legislator to suggest a general-obligation bond to pay for new highways. He proposed $1.5 billion last year. But hardly anyone noticed. Then the Senate's new Transportation Committee chairman, Wadie Deddeh of Chula Vista, announced an even bigger bond issue — $1.8 billion — with bipartisan support at a well-attended press conference. He got the widespread publicity this time.

Deddeh has stayed in the spotlight by adopting the governor's $2.3 billion bond proposal as his own. But Katz is sure to be back in the headlines soon.

This year his personal life has taken precedent. In April, he married Gini Barrett, a former vice-president of the Tejon Ranch who changed jobs shortly after the nuptials. Katz' bride is now president of a South Lake Tahoe development company and commuting to Los Angeles every weekend with her new husband. At the same time his personal life is taking a new course, Katz claims to be settling into his current political life — for at least one more term.

He said he's not sure what he'll do next. Congress does not particularly interest him. There are just too many big fish in the same pond. Los Angeles local government may hold some appeal. But the Legislature and state issues are what really appeal to this ambitious young politician from the San Fernando Valley.

Despite his modest denials, there's little doubt Richard Katz, the small businessman from the San Fernando Valley, will one day make a stab at higher office — if for no other reason than that the memory of his missed basketball opportunity still haunts him. He wouldn't want to leave public life with any questions about what might have been.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Truck transportation. . .can California thrive without it?

Some say this scene could never happen. Yet current bureaucratic policies and legislative politics have already impaired California's vital commercial transportation system.

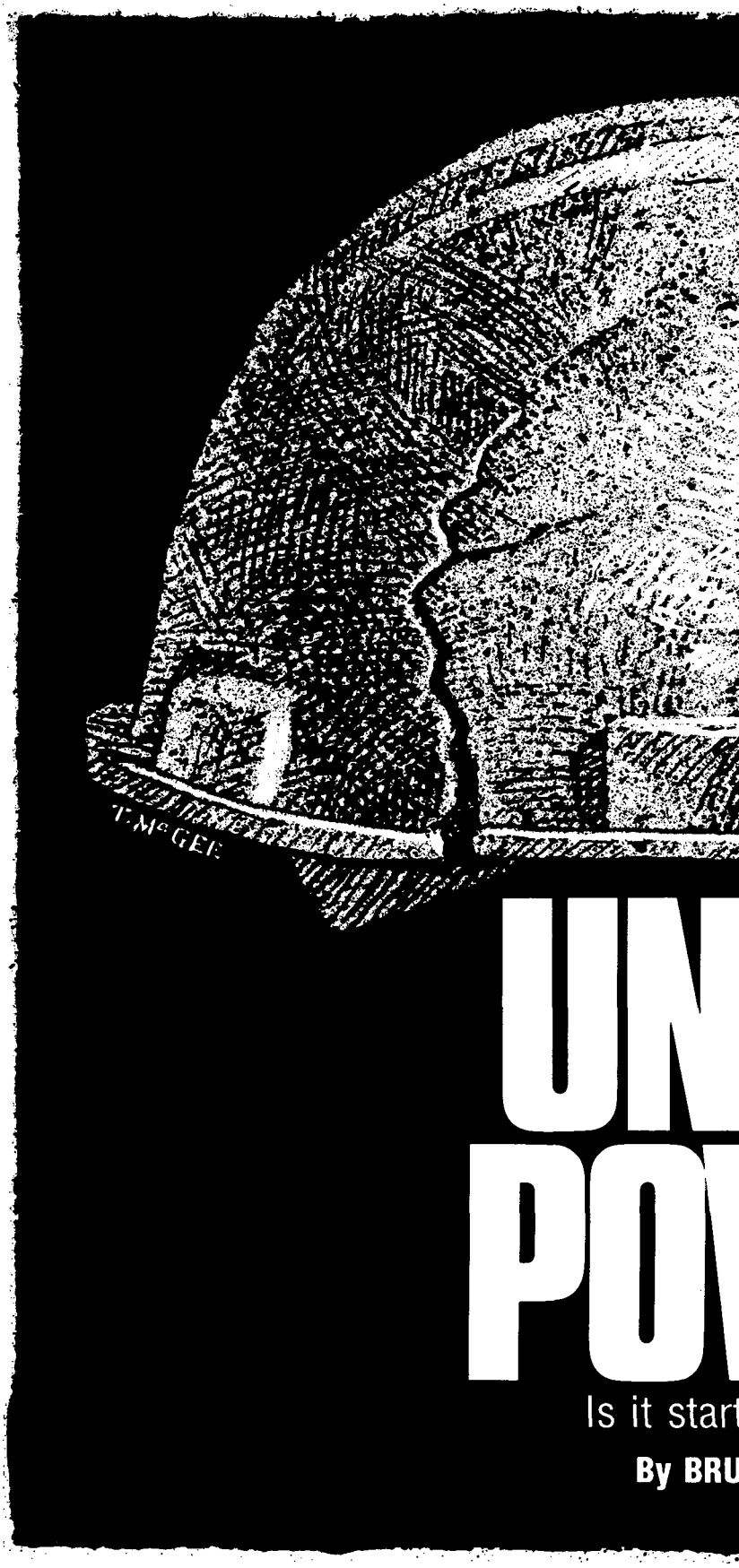
In a state where 98% of all goods are moved by truck, anti-business attitudes hamper our state's ability to attract new enterprises and jeopardize millions of retail, manufacturing, and service jobs dependent on truck transportation. The same anti-business attitudes also deny consumers the savings possible through service by more efficient truck equipment.

From San Diego to Susanville, from Coachella to Crescent City, truck transportation is California's economic lifeline. Even maritime, rail, and air freight systems cannot succeed without the truck link.

CALIFORNIA TRUCKING ASSOCIATION

1251 BEACON BLVD. • WEST SACRAMENTO, CA 95691 • (916) 329-3500

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



There was a running gag among campaign regulars, not long ago, that organized labor's vaunted political support meant $500 and a sound truck. Not very funny if you were counting on labor to win. Well, those days may be going the way of the Wobblies.

In the 33rd District Senate special election May 12th, organized labor was supposed to be a pallbearer for the Democratic candidacy of Cecil Green of Norwalk. But, incited by Republican Governor George Deukmejian's proposal to scrap the $8 million Cal-OSHA worker-safety program, organized labor unleashed more than $100,000 in campaign funds, volunteer workers and printing services, playing a crucial role — maybe the deciding factor — in helping Green upset GOP Assemblyman Wayne Grisham of Norwalk by 9 percentage points.

Former Senate Republican Leader Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park, whose leadership was tethered to Grisham's ill-fated candidacy, called labor's involvement "the greatest rallying of people" since the unions defeated a right-to-work initiative in 1958.

"That election was won by the labor movement, by us," Jerry Cremins, president of the State Building and Construction Trades Council, thundered to 700 delegates at a recent AFL-CIO Joint Legislative Conference.

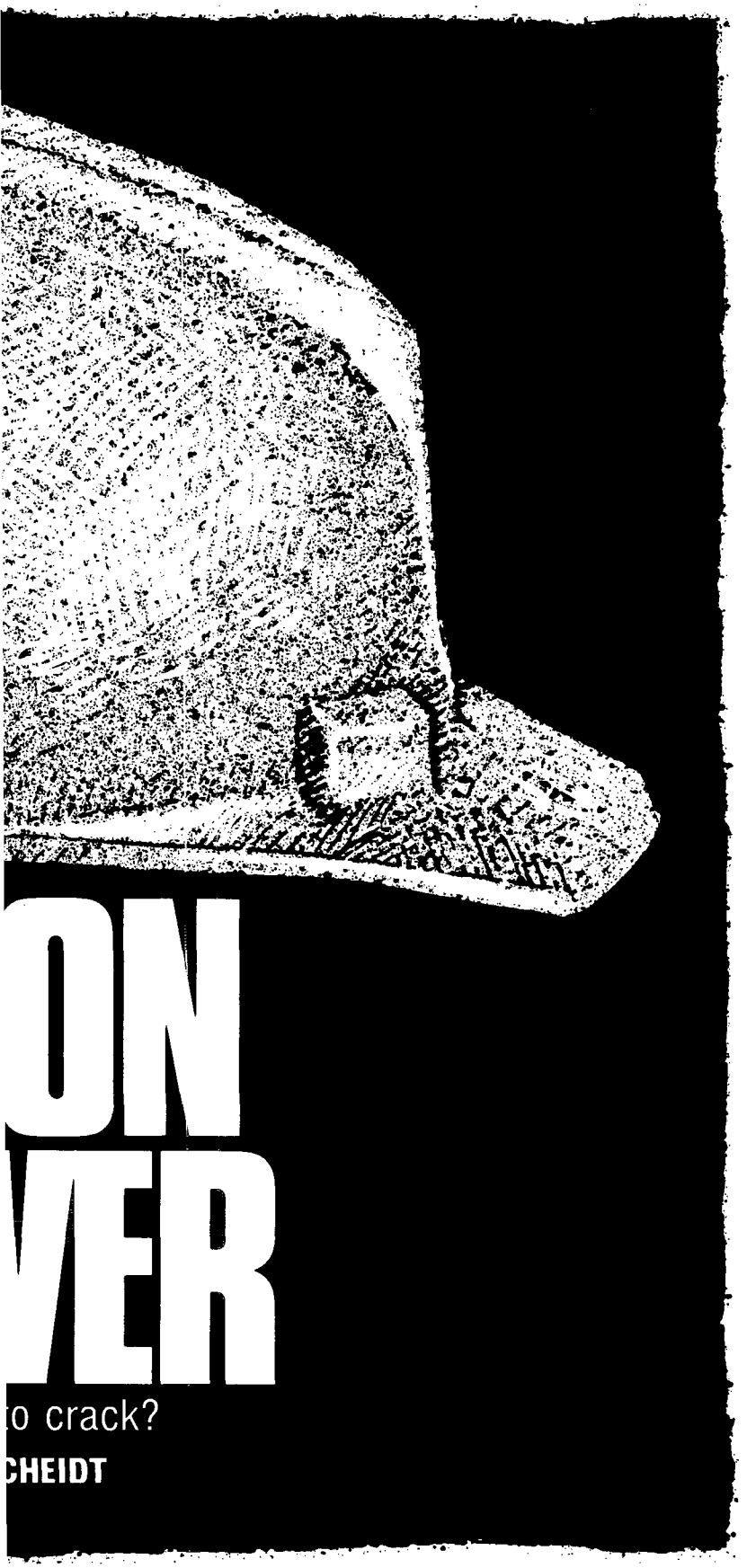
Ironically, the stunning special election victory comes at a time when the trade-union movement — and its political sway — appear in steady decline.

Chronically high employment during most of this decade, a crush of foreign imports, a devastated industrial base, a hostile administration in Washington that has — in labor's view — reduced the National Labor Relations Board to a piece of paper, and corporations' aggressive union-busting strategies have combined to reduce the proportion of union members in the non-farm work force in California to a postwar low of 19.6 percent, according to the most recent statistics compiled by the state Industrial Relations Department. That compares to 40.8 percent in 1951. The 2,152,700 union members in all sectors of California's work force are noticeably less than the 2,179,800 showing up on union rolls in 1973.

The public's enthusiasm for labor also is on the wane. A 1984 *California Poll* taken by the Field organization, the last one conducted on the subject, found the public evenly divided on unions: 45 percent believed unions do more good than harm, and 44 percent said they do more harm than good. But in 1977 the majority of Californians felt unions did more

Bruce Scheidt is Capitol correspondent for the Bakersfield Californian.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



good than harm by a wide 56-28 percent spread. And despite the overwhelming opposition of organized labor, Republican Governor George Deukmejian won re-election by a landslide 1.7 million votes.

"When the nation is in trouble — and we are in trouble despite the appearances of wealth — the nation's unions are in trouble," observed John F. Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the state AFL-CIO.

The loss of union jobs in the last 10 years has been felt virtually everywhere in the manufacturing industries in California. Machinists and steelworkers have seen their union jobs reduced to 105,200 in 1985 from 130,800 in 1975. The oil slump and industrial decay have eliminated 17 percent of union jobs just since 1983 in the oil, chemical and rubber industries in California. Construction-trade unions representing carpenters, laborers, operating engineers and plumbers were dealt a heavy blow by the depressed housing market, which only recently turned around. These trade-union rolls were reduced to 309,400 in 1985 from 340,500 in 1975.

The only area of sustained union growth is in the public sector, thanks in large part to laws giving collective-bargaining rights to government workers during the past administration of Democratic Governor Jerry Brown.

Federal, state and local unions account for 405,800 union jobs — almost 19 percent of the entire organized labor work force. Twelve years ago government's share was 13 percent, accounting for 288,800 jobs. The largest of organized labor's political action committees are controlled by public-employee unions — the Association for Better Citizenship of the California Teachers Association, and the California State Employees Association.

Union organizing of government workers has been virtually immune to loss of the state's industrial base. "You can't import your government from Taiwan," said Dean Mitchell, director of the Industrial Relations Institute at UCLA. "The government is more insulated from the pressures in the marketplace."

Despite its falling influence in California's work force, organized labor retains considerable political clout. It has powerful and close allies in Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a San Francisco Democrat, and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, a Hollywood Democrat. While Deukmejian can veto — and has, with regularity — labor-sponsored legislation, the Democratic leaders give labor veto power to stop employer-backed proposals.

"Labor can force people to sit down and negotiate," said Assembly Employment and Labor Chairman Richard Floyd, a Lawndale Democrat.

Continued on next page

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henning, pointing to friends like Brown and Roberti and to the election of Green, observed, "Politically, it can't be said we're washed up."

Gerald O'Hara, the Teamsters' chief lobbyist for 21 years, said his union has not lost any speed on the political playing field. And for a reason the politicians understand, says O'Hara: "We still represent a lot of well-paid workers."

Roberti says the unions' membership rolls are only part of the power indicator. "Labor clout increases or decreases in terms of how powerful they are perceived in the field, and I think they are perceived as very powerful now, based on this (election)," Roberti said. "I think people will think twice before they cast too many votes against labor."

Kirk West, president of the California Chamber of Commerce, said the liberal legislative leadership, ensconced by a gerrymandered reapportionment plan, has magnified labor's influence. Labor's interests also have been capably protected by two other Capitol veterans — labor's widely respected chief lobbyists, AFL-CIO's Henning and Teamsters' O'Hara, West said.

"There might be a little loss of (labor) clout since I came here in 1963, but there's less than what people assume," West said.

But there is heavy doubt, even among Democratic partisans, whether labor can transform Green's victory into a sustained political drive throughout California. First, labor was given a great organizing incentive with Deukmejian's Cal-OSHA proposal. And second, the 33rd District balloting was a special election in an area of Los Angeles and Orange counties that has the highest concentration of union house-

Teacher unions: m

Some of the biggest shocks felt in California during the past decade have not been from earthquakes. Like tectonic forces, political and demographic shifts have caused a major upheaval in public school classrooms. Administrators shook when teachers, after years of futile legislative efforts, finally gained collective-bargaining rights in 1975. Three years later locally-elected boards lost control over school finances to the state when voters scaled back property taxes with passage of Proposition 13. And the changes should continue well into the next decade as an aging Anglo population and the rising influx of Asian and Hispanic immigrants extend ethnic-minority dominance in California's urban schools.

These unique challenges will test whether California's two largest teacher unions can adapt to the changing needs of their profession. As lawmakers search for ways to reform the teaching occupation, the unions representing teachers have been forced to ask themselves if they need to be more "unionlike," fighting to retain historical job protections. Or should they be more like a professional organization, willing to explore new roles to improve the quality of teachers, including a less-adversarial relationship with administrators?

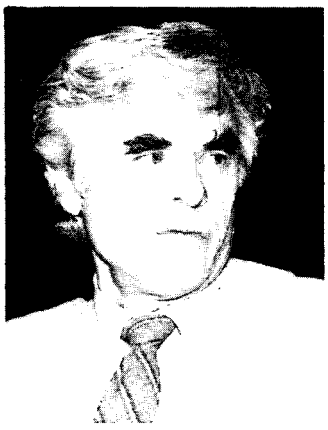
In this debate, the 39,000-member California Federation of Teachers of the AFL-CIO plays Avis to the California Teacher Association's Hertz, one of the biggest unions in California with 176,000 members. Yet it is the CFT which is getting higher marks from education lobbyists and legislators for a progressive approach to classroom reform. CTA may have the political clout, because of its superior size and immense campaign fund-raising capability, but CFT has gained the edge in respect in the Capitol.

"Almost everything with CTA boils down to membership and money, money, money," said an education lobbyist, who asked not to be identified. "The CFT is much more oriented toward making improvements in the teaching profession."

Senate Education Committee Chairman Gary Hart, a Santa Barbara Democrat, said CFT has shown itself more interested in "quality indicators" — among them, peer evaluation, teacher proficiency testing and higher academic standards. CTA has been "very defensive" when any of these new approaches have been introduced, said Hart.

The definition of "progressive" can be very subjective, and CTA President Ed Foglia gets rigid when he hears criticism that his union's concern for quality instruction is being eclipsed by CFT. The reform movement since 1983, Foglia claims, "has gone in the wrong direction." The real issue, he maintains, is a lack of funds in the educational system.

"We're trying to focus on the real issue," Foglia said. "Large class size is a real issue. It's a lot easier to talk about something else rather than issues that cost money. When we



Myers

Foglia

complain about education, we're called obstructionist."

Ironically, CTA started out as the more "professional" organization. It was the rival CFT, under the national leadership of American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, which had a somewhat radical image in the 1960s. Until 1970 the CTA continued to have administrators within its ranks and did not embrace collective bargaining. Today the only indication that CTA, an affiliate of the giant National Education Association, once backed away from traditional unionism is its refusal to affiliate with the AFL-CIO, to which CFT belongs.

The two unions defy easy categorizing as liberal or conservative. Republican legislators, who largely disdain CTA, call it a liberal organization, a client of the Democratic Party, whose candidates got 96 percent of CTA's political contributions in the 1985-86 election cycle. But CFT President Miles

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

holds in the state, so labor could muster all its resources without fear of spreading itself too thin elsewhere.

"The working man is not as interested in the solidarity of the union. He's interested in a job and making a living," former GOP Senate Leader Nielsen said. "And let's make something clear. These labor 'volunteers' were paid. That's not insignificant."

What made Green's victory so meaningful to Democrats was the unprecedented involvement and cooperation of organized labor. Never before had so many unions — sensitive to raids by rival unions — felt comfortable about security precautions and turned over their closely-guarded membership lists to a Democrat's campaign, according to Larry Sheingold, Green's campaign director.

The Green campaign also turned back a page in history and utilized what labor does best — people organizing. Modern campaigns, which have emphasized "hit piece" mailings, radio and television, had moved away from that old-fashioned campaign method.

Green's grass-roots campaign had a new and distinctly high-tech look. And it was expensive. The successful formula relied on computerized precinct lists, unprecedented in sophistication, all hand-punched and hand-researched. The lists focused on households with at least one labor resident, a high degree of Democratic loyalty and frequent voting habits. That made the absentee-voter campaign the most expensive in history, but also the most effective. Adding to the cost was extensive overhead: more than 2000 labor union recruits, many compensated financially for their time; campaign headquarters and even sub-headquarters;

rriage or mayhem

Myers of Oakland says CTA is the more conservative of the two unions.

"We are in favor of exploring new ways of organizing schools," Myers claims. "They have tended to be more conservative."

CFT leaders are exploring a new concept of shared decision-making in the schools called "trust agreements." The idea is for teachers and administrators to participate in a collegial purpose on issues that lie outside the scope of collective bargaining.

"Our goal is to build a profession again," Myers said. "Our general position has not changed, but society has changed and the needs of education have changed."

Myers says the higher levels of literacy required in today's competitive economy dictate that teacher standards have to be improved and that teachers must get more involved in the hiring and firing process.

CTA's Foglia, however, views administrators as adversaries who cannot be trusted. "Administrators and school boards don't care about good teachers," Foglia declares. "They don't give a damn about the quality of education."

Despite the outside criticism, CTA is a powerful force in the Legislature. CTA's big-league political action fund — the PAC ranked fifth in 1985-86 contributions — is a major reason critics hesitate to voice their objections publicly. A former CTA official noted, "I've been told by legislators, 'What in the heck is CTA doing (on legislation)?' But they'd vote with CTA anyway. You have to think it was because of the PAC."

Despite philosophical differences on several reform issues, the two rival unions have been talking merger. CFT's Myers says a merger makes sense, since both organizations endorse the same slate of Democratic candidates; both embrace collective bargaining for teachers; and both think there is a shortage of public funds in the teaching profession.

"Why should we keep fighting each other?" Myers asks.

The two unions occasionally wage jurisdictional warfare, and the results can be messy and costly. Last year CFT narrowly missed ousting CTA as the exclusive bargaining agent in a decertification in the San Francisco Unified School District. Myers vows another fight to represent San Francisco teachers when the current contract nears expiration. "In 1989 we'll be back at it again," he says.

CFT recently beat CTA in a decertification election in the San Diego Community College District.

"We still have pushing and pulling going on. Why not sit down and figure out a way to work together?" Myers says.

The major unresolved question is how to divide per-capita union dues. CTA's Foglia insists — and Myers agrees — that under a merger he or his successor would lead the new union, since CTA is much larger. All members would have mandatory membership in the National Education Association, CTA's parent organization, Foglia insists, while membership in the American Federation of Teachers, CTA's parent, would be optional. Myers says the principle he is working from is that everybody will pay the same level of dues, regardless of affiliation.

Foglia hints a major obstacle is AFT President Albert Shanker. It galls Foglia that Shanker has become the recognized national leader in the teacher-reform movement, because his favorable national press has overshadowed NEA President Mary H. Futrell.

"That is about the biggest crock," Foglia says of the statesman-like image enjoyed by Shanker. "She's more in tune with what is needed in the classroom than Shanker would know on any given day."

Myers says Shanker is "absolutely supportive" of a merger. In any event, the CFT president has imposed a mid-1988 deadline for a merger.

"If we can't bring it off in the next year, then we'll part company in a friendly fashion," Myers said.

Others in the education community are split as to whether a merger would be beneficial for education. "It's nice to have two different perspectives," Rebecca Bauman, a lobbyist for California School Boards Association, said. "Multiple voices from a profession of 200,000 is very healthy."

Senator Hart said the unions would probably benefit from a merger. "You could argue competition is a good thing," he said. "On the other hand, the two organizations spend so much time giving the appearance they are better for teachers, that it's a tremendous drain on the resources of the organizations, maybe even on the philosophies.

—Bruce Scheidt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and significant transportation costs involving the movement of campaign workers.

"Labor considered this a training academy for its own people," said Steve Coony, the labor specialist on Roberti's staff. "The unions got back a lot of new (political) data about their own memberships. And now they have 1000 new volunteers in Southern California."

As a result, Democrats have a powerful new weapon that was needlessly holstered in the past.

"Labor provides the Democratic Party with an infrastructure that we just don't have as a party," Roberti said.

No matter how many legislative elections labor helps put in the Democratic column, the fact remains that unions have limited political influence as long as Republican George Deukmejian sits in the governor's office.

Tom Rankin, the state AFL-CIO's research director, said, "You can't talk about our power without talking about our governor. He controls how much we get accomplished." In other words, labor can defeat bills and occasionally nominees it opposes, but that is the extent of its influence these days in Sacramento.

Deukmejian vetoed 34 AFL-CIO bills last year, including an increase in workers' compensation benefits — labor's key issue this year. Maximum payment for temporary

O'Hara

Monahan

Henning

disability is $224, which ranks 39th among the states.

Even before he proposed eliminating Cal-OSHA, Deukmejian had made deep cuts in the worker-safety agency in his first term. In late May a Sacramento Superior Court judge ruled Deukmejian could not end Cal-OSHA without legislative consent. But Judge Roger Warren did not rule on whether Deukmejian could eliminate the program's budget or take other steps to stop its enforcement of state worker-safety rules.

Deukmejian also has made steep reductions in the Agricultural Labor Relations Board budget, and his grower-backed appointments have caused the United Farm Workers to stop using the state law for organizing. The UFW instead has returned to the boycott to win contracts, a strategy it utilized successfully before the landmark farm-labor law was passed in 1975.

The AFL-CIO's Henning said Deukmejian is the first governor in almost 50 years who failed to seek advice from organized labor before appointing an Industrial Relations director. Deukmejian also is the first governor in that same period who has not appointed someone from organized labor to sit on the Workers' Compensation Appeals Board, Henning added.

Labor's war against the governor was declared early in Deukmejian's first term when the Senate, responding to AFL-CIO complaints, refused confirmation of former Republican Congressman Victor Veysey as Industrial Relations director. And Veysey's replacement, Ron Rinaldi, has not been any more acceptable.

Henning earlier this year refused to negotiate with employers on workers'-compensation reform if Rinaldi were in the same room, complaining that Rinaldi is not a neutral arbiter. "He's worse than the employers in the negotiations," Henning said. "The employers sit back and let Rinaldi carry the reactionary load."

Rinaldi infuriated Henning when, during negotiations on workers' compensation, the Industrial Relations director stated, with supporting evidence, that employers would leave the state if labor's proposal was fully accepted. Henning walked out.

"He only speaks for the employers," Henning fumed. "Do you think they'll be more reasonable than he is?"

Rinaldi said in an interview Deukmejian would not accept any workers'-compensation reform package that would hurt economic development. That is why he felt obligated to speak his views during the negotiations. "I have never been instructed, nor given any indication by the governor, that my agenda should be destructive to the workers of organized labor," Rinaldi said. "What's more important than jobs for labor? The bigger the workers' compensation costs, the more it will cost in terms of jobs."

The California State Employees Association, the largest union representing state government workers, also has had its share of struggles with the administration. Salaries, however, have not been a major issue. State workers have seen their paychecks rise 34 percent since 1982-83 — a higher gain than the 26 percent hike in private-sector salaries and considerably above the 22 percent inflation rate during the five-year period, according to statistics developed by the state.

The raw nerve in the relationship has been over the administration's policy of contracting out state jobs. CSEA claims 1000 state jobs have been lost because the administration has hired private contractors to do the work instead of state employees; the administration claims half of that.

"To listen to CSEA, you'd think we're significantly trying to cut state government," said Jim Mosman, director of the Department of Personnel Administration, pointing out state government's entire work force is 150,000.

CSEA claims the administration would be contracting out far more state jobs without the union's vigilant opposition. CSEA has several lawsuits charging the administration is not following the law in contracting out. In addition, the union has gone to court in a separate action alleging the state Constitution forbids contracting out any job which could be performed by a state worker.

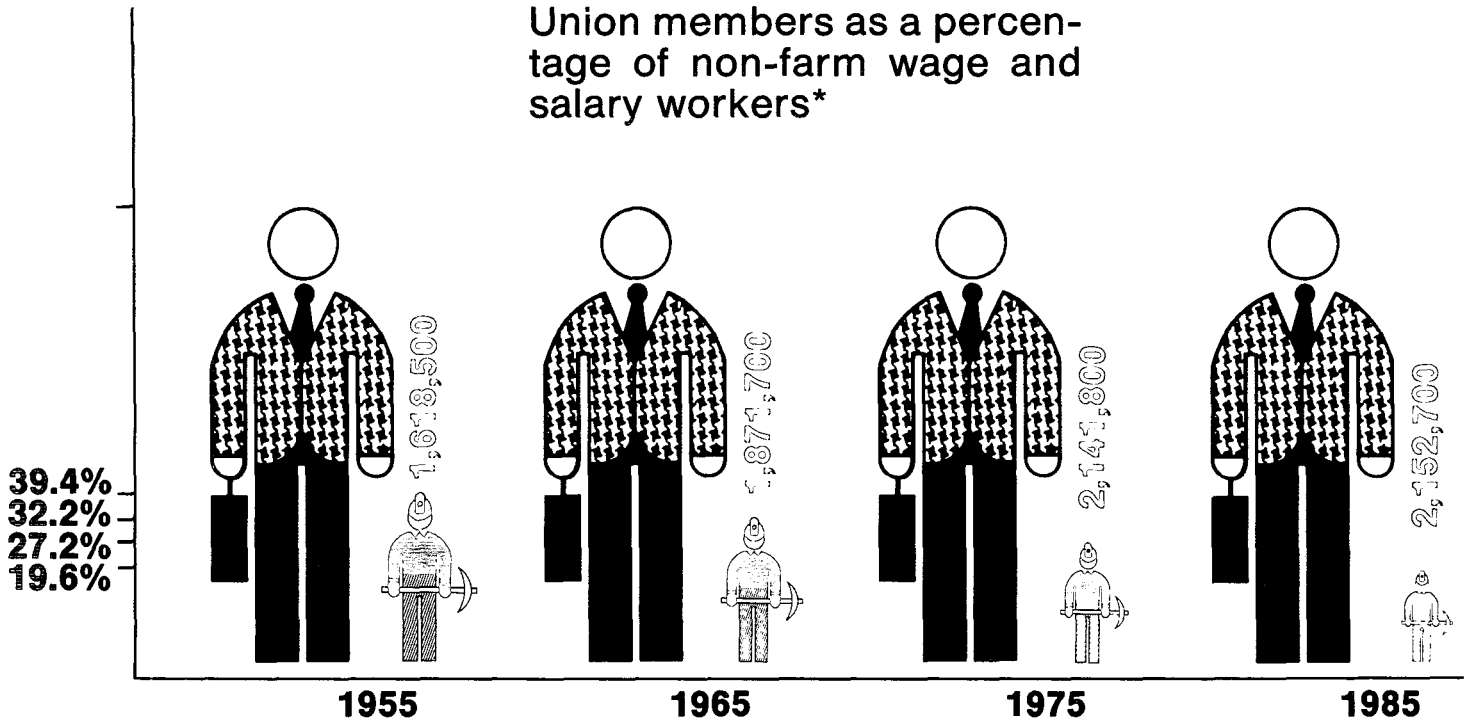
"I think he (the governor) thinks he can do what he damn well pleases until somebody stops him," said CSEA President Patrick Monahan. "And we are the ones who can stop him."

Despite the tough talk, Monahan was elected president last year on a campaign to improve relations with the administration and minority-party Republicans. The union last year endorsed Democrat Tom Bradley and gave more than 90 percent of its campaign funds to Democratic candidates. Recognizing that 30 to 40 percent of CSEA's members are Republicans, Monahan said his union's helping hand will line more GOP pockets in the next election.

"My philosophy is, you have to deal with both sides of the aisle," says Monahan. "We're trying to convince the administration that labor and management can get along." The new CSEA president even promised the governor in a face-to-face chat in April that CSEA publications would no longer lampoon him with cartoon caricatures exaggerating his prominent proboscis.

The 82,000-member CSEA, meanwhile, has been under siege from rival groups seeking to raid its membership. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



*Does not include employers, own-account workers, unpaid family workers, domestic servants or agricultural workers.

Source: California Department of Industrial Relations

association affiliated with Service Employees International Union of the AFL-CIO in 1984 to prevent raids by other AFL-CIO unions. But that hasn't stopped poaching by other groups. Last year CSEA lost a decertification election of a smaller unit to the California Association of Professional Scientists. CSEA faced a major threat in a June 22nd decertification election challenging CSEA's continued representation of 10,000 crafts and maintenance workers in Unit 12. CSEA was fighting back, filing a lawsuit in San Francisco Superior Court alleging that the consulting firm of Blanning and Baker Associates was funding the decertification attempt to replace the union with its own "dummy organization" for its own profit.

Except for a few law-enforcement unions, organized labor's political contributions go almost exclusively to Democratic candidates. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education did not give a dime to any Republican candidate last year. The Teamsters gave less than 1 percent of its campaign funds to Republicans in 1985-86. The blue-chip political action committees controlled by two public-employee unions — CSEA and California Teachers Association — gave more than 90 percent of a combined $1 million in contributions to Democrats in 1985-86.

The major exception is the burgeoning California Correctional Peace Officers Association, which represents prison guards. Because of a rapid prison-building program, CCPOA has had phenomenal growth — from 2100 members in 1980 to 15,000 this year. It formed a political action committee in 1982, and it grew to more than $400,000 in the 1985-86 election cycle. Its $160,000 in contributions to Deukmejian was the largest union donation to the GOP governor; additionally, it gave an estimated 40 percent of its legislation donations to Republicans. CCPOA President Don Novey said the bipartisan contributions have yielded better retirement and disability benefits and higher pay. He said other public-employee unions would do well to follow CCPOA's example.

"We've discovered labor groups have to take a more moderate tone to get their packages through. It worked for us," Novey said.

It is a myth that organized labor's campaign contributions tend to balance out business contributions. "Nothing could be further from the truth," says California Common Cause Executive Director Walter Zelman. "When it comes to campaign contributions — whether at the statewide, state legislative or local government levels — labor is not in the same league as business. Many candidates can win without any support from labor. It is almost impossible to win without very significant support from business."

Zelman said the perception of labor as a major money force in politics is maintained because heavily-reported lists of top contributors always contain four or five labor groups among the top 10 or 15 contributors in the state. But a list of the top 100 contributors — if one were published — would show just five to 10 labor organizations, against 70 or 80 business organizations, Zelman said. In addition, relatively few union members give sizable amounts as individuals, whereas many of the state's business leaders give generously as individuals.

A major political issue before the AFL-CIO this year, with obvious implications, is whether the federation will follow the 1984 example and make a presidential endorsement before the first primary ballots are cast in 1988. The national AFL-CIO recently kicked off its endorsement process by releasing videotaped responses of presidential candidates to questions put to them by the labor federation. The responses are being distributed to union locals so members can educate themselves in time for the October convention. The AFL-CIO will endorse a candidate if there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sacramento teachers picket in the Sacramento City Teachers Association strike of January, 1987. Photo by Len Feldman, courtesy of the California Teachers Association.

is a two-thirds vote from the convention delegates.

In the last presidential campaign cycle, the federation for the first time endorsed a candidate during the primary season. Labor helped Walter Mondale survive Gary Hart's challenge for the Democratic nomination, but all it did was tag Mondale with a "special interest" label and force an unelectable candidate upon the electorate in the general election. Labor leaders doubt any of the Democratic candidates in the 1988 race can get the necessary two-thirds support.

"We had the ideal labor candidate in Mondale; he dominated the field," Henning said. "I couldn't see a two-thirds vote coming easiliy in the field we now have."

There is debate within the labor federation about the wisdom of an early endorsement. Raoul Teilhet, vice president of the state AFL-CIO, said he thinks an early endorsement would be a "bad idea" because there is no consensus candidate. The 1988 endorsement should "percolate from the worksite," Teilhet said.

"You build a union from the bottom up, not top down," Teilhet said.

Roberti is one of many Democratic leaders who hopes the AFL-CIO does not make an early endorsement. "They're not that strong yet," Roberti said. "The public is not ready for labor to pick the candidate. They are ready for labor to support, and support heavily."

Henning bristled with the suggestion that labor should be expected to support just any nominee the Democratic primaries throw its way. "We're not going to sit back and let a conservative Democrat get the nomination and be asked to get out there and bleed for a conservative Democrat," Henning said. "We can't accept that."

What of the future? The labor federation has attempted to respond to the new challenges with new organizing strategies. The AFL-CIO, for example, is designing discounted programs — insurance, credit unions and individual retirement accounts — for workers who were once organized or who tried to organize but failed.

In California, Los Angeles-area AFL-CIO unions have begun helping undocumented workers qualify for legal resident status under the new federal immigration law. A dozen unions have contributed more than $100,000 to fund the program.

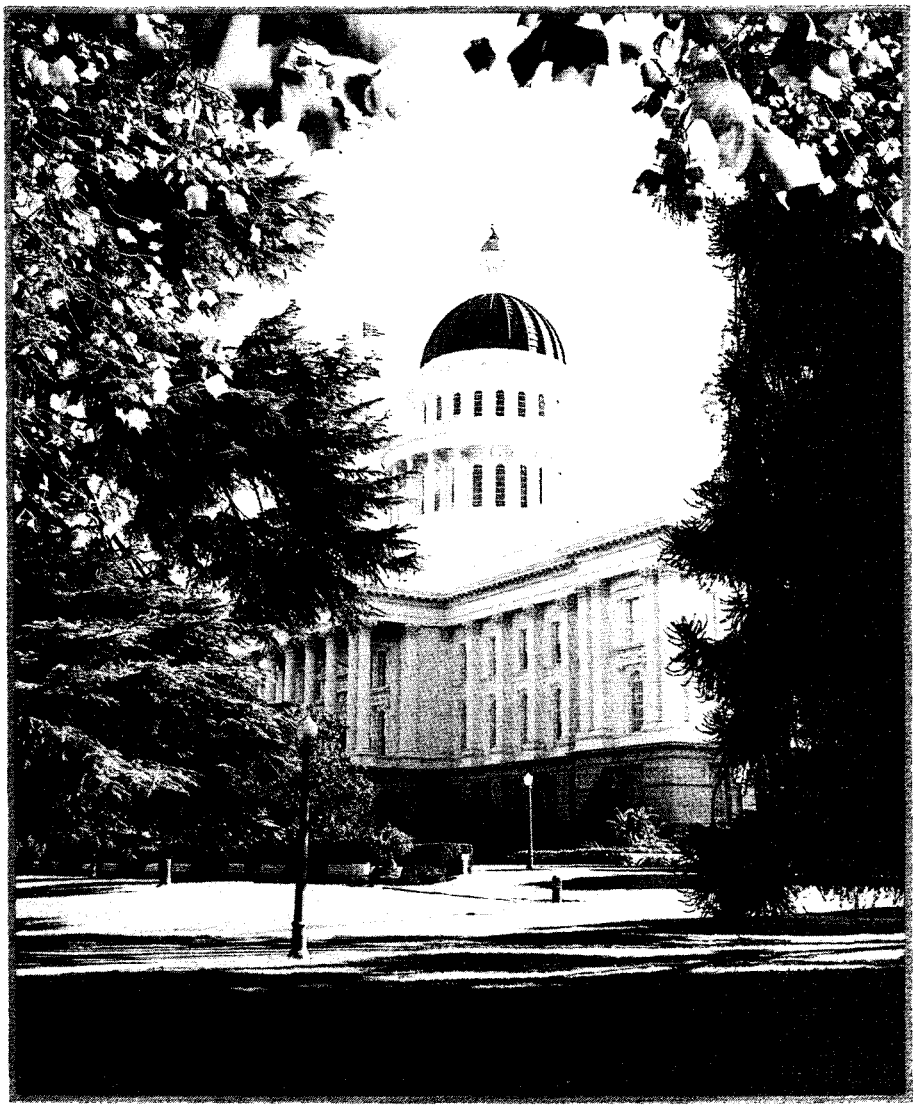
"Immigration reform is the most important issue confronting California unions," Dave Sickler, regional director of the AFL-CIO, says. "By helping these brave new immigrants to become legal, we can improve the bargaining power and living standards of all workers in every workplace."

The federation also hopes to generate some good will with the immigrant workers, which could pay off later in organizing campaigns. "Cynics can argue it is a great organizing aid," Henning said. "I'm not dismissing it. But we feel it's our moral obligation."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW!

CALIFORNIA'S



LEGISLATURE

CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATURE

by James Driscoll

Former Chief Clerk
of the Assembly

California's Legislature is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature, covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Chapters on the Legislature include:

- Districts Qualifications and Compensation
- Organizations
- Legislative Process
- Personnel
- Legislative Publications

Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the capital building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names.

California's Legislature is published by The Center for California Studies at California State University, Sacramento and is distributed by California Journal Press.

6″ x 9″, 256 pages, paperbound, 1986, $3.95

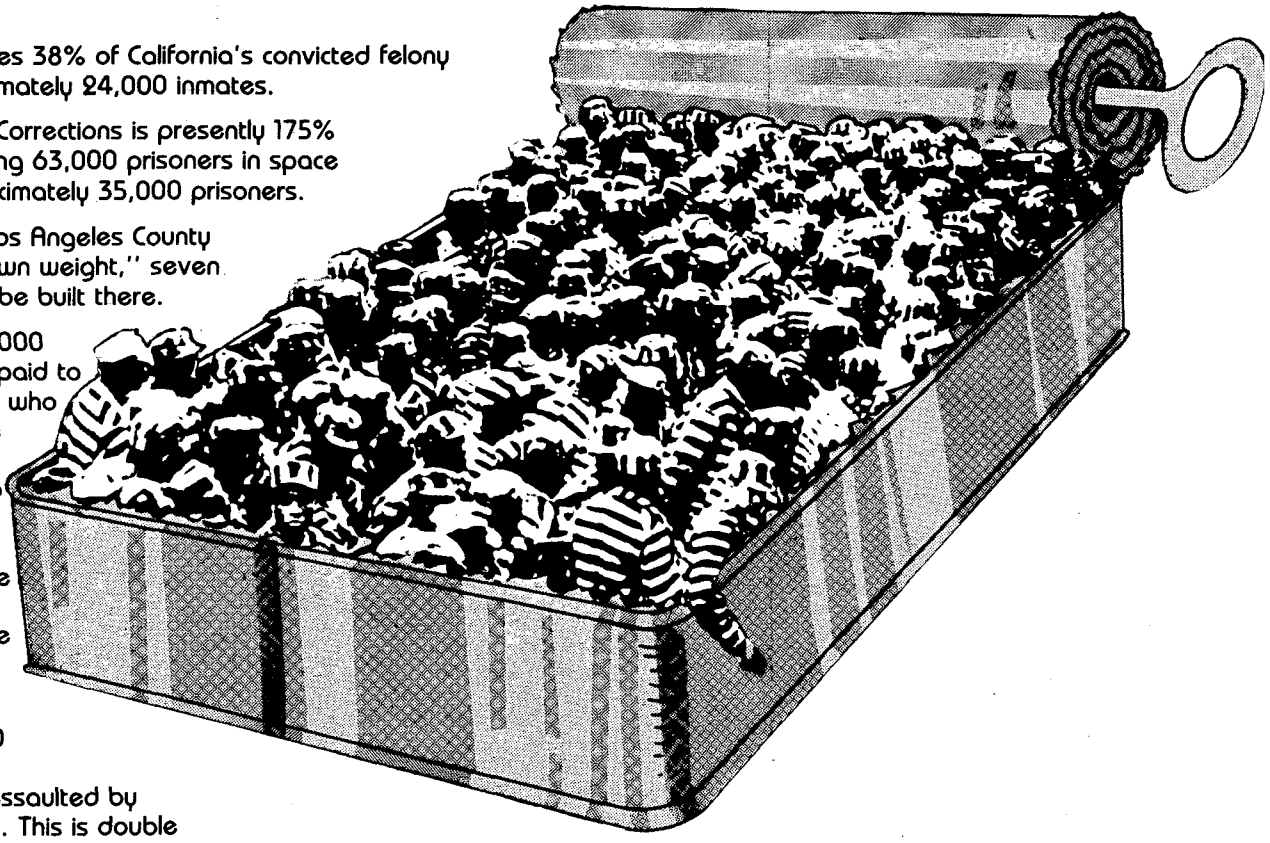
The book is a remarkable bargain at $3.95 plus tax, and quantity discounts are available.

Place your order by sending your check or MasterCard or Visa number to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814 or call (916) 444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

FACTS



- ★ Los Angeles produces 38% of California's convicted felony population; approximately 24,000 inmates.
- ★ The Department of Corrections is presently 175% overcrowded, housing 63,000 prisoners in space designed for approximately 35,000 prisoners.
- ★ Proportionately, if Los Angeles County were to "carry its own weight," seven new prisons should be built there.
- ★ An additional $400,000 per month must be paid to Correctional Officers who are supposed to be working at the new prisons in San Diego and Stockton, but which are not allowed to open due to the Legislature's inability to designate the Los Angeles sites.
- ★ Approximately 1,000 Peace Officers in Corrections will be assaulted by inmates during 1987. This is double what it was five years ago. Overcrowding and violence go hand in hand.

The California Correctional Peace Officers Association's agenda is to serve its Peace Officer membership with public safety as their 1 concern. In doing our job well, we believe our Peace Officers in Corrections and Youth Authority will secure the public's need for safety and protection against convicted felons. It is not a political football.

The profession is tough, but that is our job. What we need are the tools to do the job. PRISONS. CCPOA supports the two site (at least) proposal, (1) to build at the urban "Crown Coach" site and (2) a rural site in Los Angeles County. It is politically balanced. One is a Democratic district the other Republican. Now, how about bipartisan responsibility.

To borrow a phrase from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, "Los Angeles is the place!"

California Correctional Peace Officers Association

Peace Officers working . . . the toughest beat in the state

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Glazing the electorate

How the Democrats spent and spent — and won

By LARRY SHEINGOLD

Editor's note: Larry Sheingold and his partner, Rose King, managed newly-elected state Senator Cecil Green's campaign in the May 12th special election to replace former Senator Paul Carpenter. Last year, their firm — Directions — ran the successful campaigns of Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy and state Senator Dan McCorquodale. When he's not campaigning, Sheingold is on the Legislature's payroll as an assistant to Senate Majority Whip Henry Mello.

A small army of volunteers sat in Cecil Green's campaign headquarters on election day — May 12, 1987 — making bologna sandwiches to feed the get-out-the-vote walkers.

One of the amateur chefs was former state Assemblyman Larry Chimbole who was swept from office in 1978 — the year of Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13. In all, eight Democratic incumbents were defeated that November as the GOP used the tax-limitation measure to crystallize their image as the party determined to "cut, squeeze and trim" state government. Two years later, Ronald Reagan won the White House, and Republican conservatives believed their time had finally come.

Now there are signs the political pendulum is starting to swing again. In the suburban working-class district once called the birthplace of the Jarvis anti-tax movement, Cecil Green became California's newest state senator by calling for increased spending for education, health care for the elderly and worker safety.

"It was great to be part of a campaign like that," Chimbole said. "It made me feel like a winner again. I haven't felt that way in a long time."

You have to pardon Democrats for feeling elated about Green's victory. In January, most insiders had conceded the race to Green's opponent — Republican Assemblyman Wayne Grisham. After all, Democrats had lost two open state Senate seats last November following the retirement of longtime incumbents John Foran and Walter Stiern. In addition, Republicans are usually favored when voter turnout is low.

This election was called to fill the term of former Democratic Senator Paul Carpenter who was elected to the State Board of Equalization in November. So Cecil Green was facing long odds trying to win an open seat in a marginal district in a special election where turnout was expected to be 20 percent or less. Other initial factors were no more encouraging. Green, a longtime Norwalk mayor and city councilman, was almost unknown in the district's other 11 Los

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Angeles and Orange county cities.

A natural fallback for Green would be to rely on loyal Democrats, but in the 33rd Senate District Democrats regularly ignore party registration and support Republicans. In fact, the district seemed custom-made for Wayne Grisham. A former local mayor, congressman and two-term assemblyman, Grisham had won easily in recent years despite heavily-financed campaigns against him. The parts of the Senate district new to him, including Lakewood, Bellflower and northern Orange County, appeared to offer even better territory for a Republican.

Indeed, Carpenter had captured only 52 percent of the vote in his final Senate re-election in 1984 — a factor, no doubt, in his decision to run for the Board of Equalization.

In Sacramento, Senate Republicans were certain of victory. In speeches around California they announced that the only unknown was margin of victory. The governor was equally confident, having served part of the district when he was a state senator. George Deukmejian expected his endorsement to carry considerable weight.

Putting his personal prestige on the line, Deukmejian forced Republican Cerritos Mayor Don Knabe to stay off the ballot in order to avoid having a divisive Republican primary. Ironically, the inducement for Knabe was that Deukmejian would support him for the Assembly after Grisham won and moved to the upper house.

The basis for the Republican optimism was that Grisham was a proven vote-getter, supported George Deukmejian's policies and was ideologically in tune with the conservative nature of the district. Cecil Green's 7000-vote victory showed that ideology and the "cut, squeeze and trim" approach to government services might no longer be enough to elect Republicans in marginal districts.

Conventional thinking has been that a district with less than 55 percent Democratic registration is in reality a Republican district. The 33rd Senate District falls squarely into that category, with 53.6 percent of the voters registered Democrats and 38.3 percent registered Republicans.

However, looking strictly at voter registration statistics can be misleading for the observer still bound by conventional thinking. When Proposition 13 was approved in 1978, statewide voter registration favored Democrats over Republicans by a 56 percent to 35 percent margin. Since then Republican registration has increased to 38 percent with Democrats declining to 50 percent — their lowest registration percentage in 53 years.

Republicans have been understandably jubilant about their gains. In contrast, Secretary of State March Fong Eu said in January, "Chicken Little is right. The sky is falling on the Democratic Party."

But what the partisan registration figures fail to show is the existence of a crucial group of people who are able to support candidates of either party. These non-ideological, swing voters care about issues of self-interest and a candidate's honesty, experience and character. The least-important characteristic to the swing voter is party registration.

Ten years ago, most swing voters were registered Democrats. However, as Republican registration percentage has increased, so have the number of swing voters who now belong to the Republican Party. The ability to find these swing voters and speak directly to them gave Cecil Green's campaign the edge needed to overcome Wayne Grisham's initial lead in the 33rd District.

Many factors led to Green's final vote margin, of course. But the entire campaign strategy was based on understanding the importance of the group of voters University of Massachusetts professor Ralph Whitehead Jr. calls the "new collar" voter.

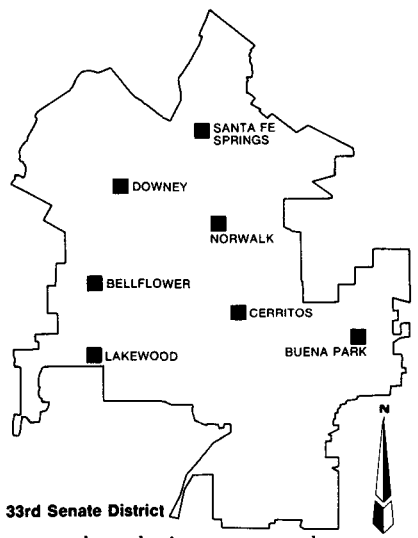
These voters typically have a strong streak of individualism. Although they are wary of the liberalism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, they are inclined to support social programs and government services which directly affect their lives.

Directions, the campaign firm managing Green's campaign, contracted with Moore Methods, a polling and demographics firm, to identify loyal and swing voters and determine issues that would motivate them to vote. By mid-January the surveys were complete and the conclusions unmistakable. As expected, it was clear that Green could not count on loyal Democrats alone to elect him — there were simply not enough of them in the district. Based on past voting behavior and current participation patterns, 60 percent of Green's vote would have to come from swing voters.

In response to a specific poll question, swing voters said they would prefer a "conservative" Democrat to a Republican. However, on issues the swings seemed anything but conservative. They were for health care for the elderly, wise investments in education and cleaning up the environment, insurance-rate reform and saving Cal-OSHA.

Coincidentally, these issue preferences put swing voters at odds with Governor George Deukmejian. In January, the governor announced a state budget which included significant cuts in funding for education and Medi-Cal and elimination of Cal-OSHA. In addition, he announced a tightly restricted list of cancer-causing chemicals he intended to be covered by *Proposition 65*, the clean-water initiative passed by voters last year.

In other words, Green could reach a critical target voter audience by relying on traditional Democratic issues. At the same time, he could draw a contrast between himself and Grisham by pointing out his Republican opponent's hard-line ideological support for the governor.



Simply understanding issues, though, is not enough. The other necessary ingredient is believability.

There is a cliche in politics that voters are much more sophisticated than politicians think they are. You most often hear that from politicians who then proceed to treat voters in a cynical and condescending manner.

Proposition 13 passed partially because voters were still willing to believe outrageous promises and accusations. But increased spending on campaigns has been accompanied by a much wiser electorate.

In his campaign for U.S. Senate last year, for example, Ed Zschau tried to convince voters that Alan Cranston supported terrorism. He spent millions of dollars showing a television spot with footage of dead bodies in a Paris airport to illustrate the point. Voters, having been bombarded with senationalism like this in recent years, are now much more reserved about accepting political rhetoric.

For example, during a focus-group interview with district voters, one man gave his system for supporting a candidate. "I try to listen to them speak. I read all their litera-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture. Then I decide for myself which one of them is lying, and I vote for the other guy."

This lesson was not lost on the Green campaign. It started out immediately to create the most meaningful and credible support — local officials and community leaders. Using phone banks, walkers, labor groups, senior citizens' groups, teachers and school board members, local mayors and city council members, the Green campaign made an intense effort to reinforce its campaign message through local support.

Even Green's campaign slogan — "Good Neighbor, Great Senator" — was intended to promote the grass-roots feel of the campaign.

Meanwhile, Grisham was doing the wrong things. He continued to invoke George Deukmejian, saying he would provide the one extra vote the governor needed to carry out his policies. This accomplished three things: It moved all the loyal Democrats to Green; it reinforced Grisham's position with loyal Republicans who were voting for him anyway; and it gave swing voters, who opposed Deukmejian's budget cuts, a reason to consider voting for Green.

On the night of the primary election, Grisham knew he had made a mistake. Rather than winning outright as he expected, Grisham got a dismal 43 percent of the vote. Green, with 48 percent, came within 2000 votes of taking the Senate seat himself.

Grisham then fired his campaign staff and brought in election experts who work for Deukmejian and Ronald Reagan. After several weeks of polling, the new crew must have been startled to learn that Grisham's pro-Deukmejian strategy didn't work.

Three weeks before the general election, Grisham backtracked on his entire campaign to that point. He announced he was no longer supporting the governor's programs and that he had changed his mind about education funding, Medi-Cal funding and saving Cal-OSHA.

These new positions accomplished three things: They reinforced loyal Democrats' commitment to vote for Green; they made loyal Republicans question Grisham's belief in their ideological positions; and they convinced swing voters that Grisham was insincere and could not be trusted on issues that mattered to them.

What the Grisham people failed to understand when they spun their candidate around and faced him in the opposite direction was the success of the Green voter-targeting and precinct-walking. A massive effort by organized labor through phones, mail and walking had galvanized swing voters in union households. Reacting to the worker-safety budget cuts, labor became an integral part of the Green campaign. By the time Grisham changed his position on Cal-OSHA, it was too late to pick up additional support from labor.

Similarly, teachers' organizations and school board members were contacting supporters of education, and seniors' groups were contacting the district's large number of retirees.

In addition, Green was mailing separate messages with pinpoint accuracy to loyal Democrats, swing Democrats and swing Republicans who were deemed most likely to vote in a special election. In all, over 45 pieces of highly-targeted, highly-personalized mail were sent — mostly from local organizations or individuals. And just after Grisham flip-flopped, all likely voters received a mailer which said: "On the five major issues in this campaign, Wayne Grisham has twice as many positions as Cecil Green."

The Green polls reflected the success of his message. He had risen from a low of 16 percent support in February to 43 percent on May 7th, a week before the final election. Grisham had fallen from 40 percent to 34 percent during that time.

The Republicans' final chance, having lost the support of swing voters, was to bank on an expensive absentee ballot drive among loyal Republicans. But the Green campaign, which had as many as one thousand volunteer walkers on the weekends before the election, countered with a vote-by-mail drive of its own.

When the final results were in, Grisham raised his absentee vote total from 4951 in March to 12,568 in May. But Green surpassed that, raising his absentee votes from 2572 to 12,683 and actually captured the absentee votes race by a slim margin.

Green's strategy also called for using a variety of gimmicks to boost turnout among loyal Democrats. They used potholders, American-flag decals, Mother's Day cards and even a doughnut giveaway to get people to the polls.

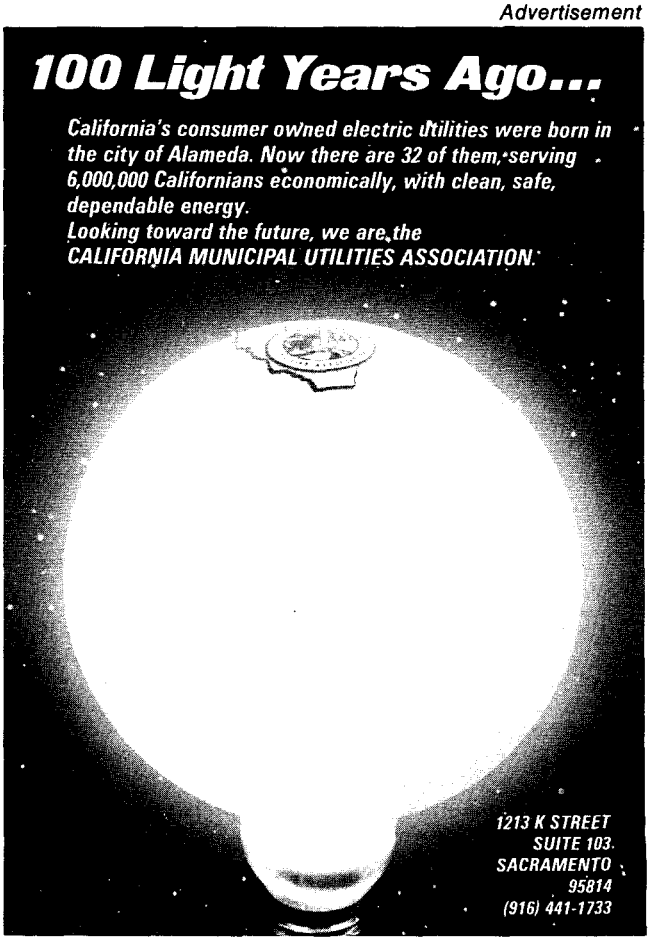
In the final analysis, however, there are two lessons future campaign managers and political observers might draw from Cecil Green's success in Southern California.

First, in the age of television and slick mail campaign, the locally-based volunteer campaign is still unmatched for giving a candidate credibility and generating support.

Second, campaigns which ignore the existence of swing voters and rely on ideological approaches to win support will be far less successful in marginal districts than they were in the days of Proposition 13 and the Jarvis tax revolt.

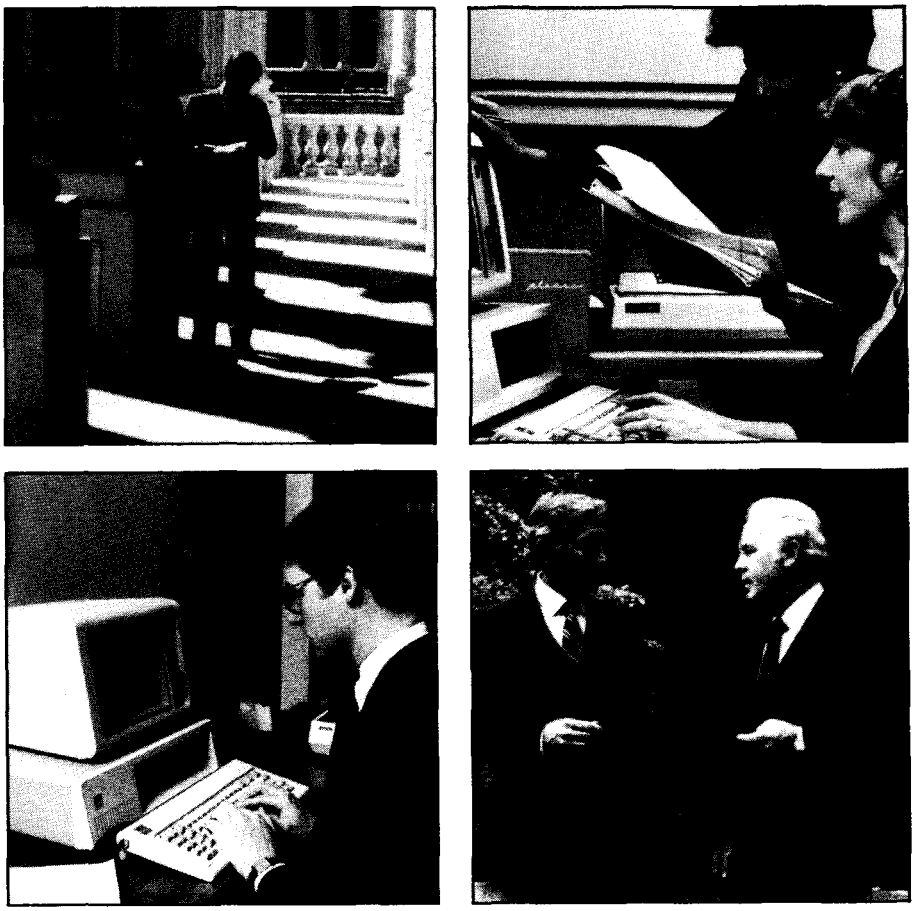
It can be expected that Republican politicos are already working to develop their own versions of targeting techniques and grass-roots ground operations which worked so successfully in the 33rd Senate District.

Advertisement


100 Light Years Ago...
California's consumer owned electric utilities were born in the city of Alameda. Now there are 32 of them, serving 6,000,000 Californians economically, with clean, safe, dependable energy.
Looking toward the future, we are the CALIFORNIA MUNICIPAL UTILITIES ASSOCIATION.
1213 K STREET
SUITE 103.
SACRAMENTO
95814
(916) 441-1733

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Legi-Tech brings Congress to your desk.℠



Keep a closer watch on Congress, candidates, and PACs.

Erase the miles and frustration of monitoring Congress from California.

Legi-Tech—California's first provider of on-line state legislative information—brings you two new valuable tools for more effective decision-making.

The Congressional Tracking System

Follow the progress of every bill from introduction to the President's desk. Search its full text. And print out as many copies as you need.

Legi-Tech includes recorded floor and committee votes so you can rate any member's voting record and learn how often they supported or opposed your issues.

The Campaign Contribution Tracking System.

Make your own contributions count by learning who contributes to which federal candidates and PACs.

Legi-Tech helps you become more effective by showing the source, amount, and date of individual and PAC contributions reported to the Federal Election Commission.

Unlimited use for one annual subscription.

Subscribe to Legi-Tech and receive unlimited access to the federal information you need. There are no hourly use charges or costs per copy, so you can use the system as often and as long as you want. And print out as many reports or copies of federal legislation as you need.

Learn more.

Call today for more information on Legi-Tech's Congressional Tracking System and Campaign Contribution Tracking System. Then see for yourself how quickly and easily you can bring Congress to your desk.

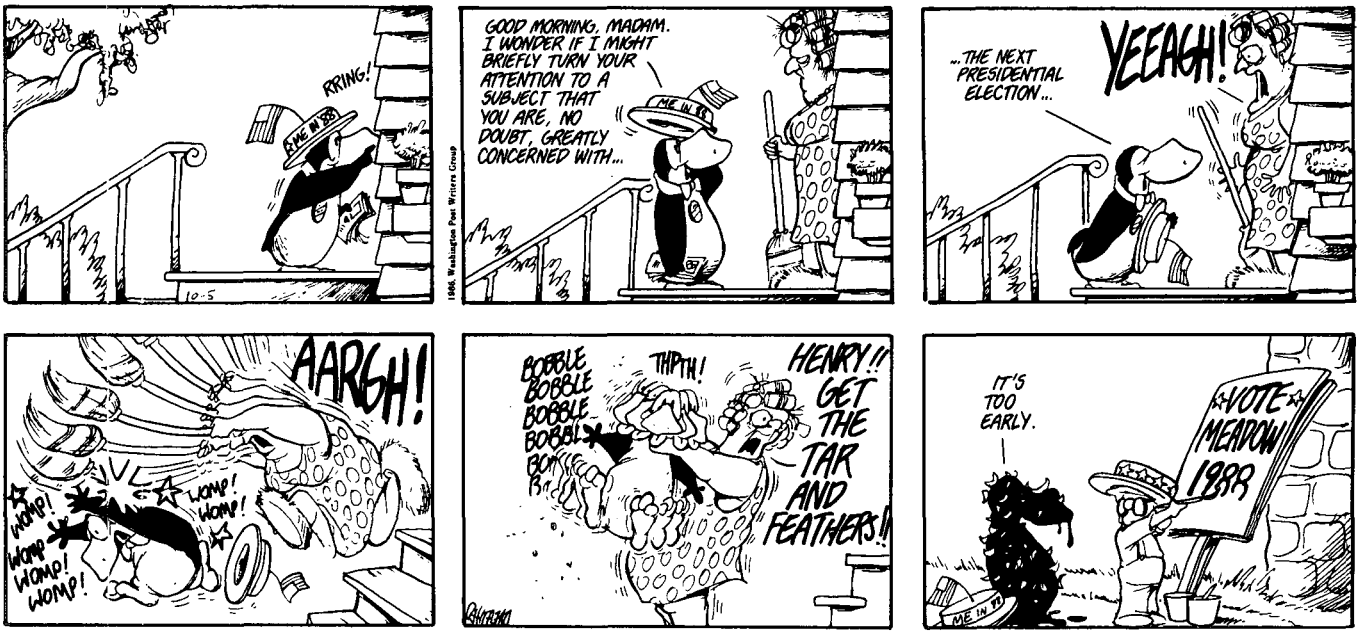
Legi-Tech®

Suite 207
1121 L Street
Sacramento, California 95814
Telephone 916/447-1886

© 1987 Legi-Tech "Legi-Tech" and the Legi-Tech logo are registered trademarks of Legi-Tech.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BLOOM COUNTY by Berke Breathed


RRING!
ME IN '88
GOOD MORNING, MADAM. I WONDER IF I MIGHT BRIEFLY TURN YOUR ATTENTION TO A SUBJECT THAT YOU ARE, NO DOUBT, GREATLY CONCERNED WITH...
ME IN '92
1986, Washington Post Writers Group
...THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION...
YEEAGH!
AARGH!
WOMP! WOMP! WOMP! WOMP! WOMP! WOMP!
BOBBLE BOBBLE BOBBLE BOBBLE BOBBLE
THPTH!
HENRY!! GET THE TAR AND FEATHERS!!
IT'S TOO EARLY.
VOTE MEADOW 1988
ME IN '92

Copyright 1936, Washington Post Writers Group. Reprinted with permission

Perils of a precinct walker

By ROBERT HOLMES

Like Lucky Strike cigarettes, or the curtsy, or go-go dancers, California political campaigns centered on hordes of volunteer precinct-walkers seemed to be going out of style in recent years. They had been replaced by costly, automated campaigns that relied on five-color brochures, cardboard candidates, hit pieces and highly-sanitized TV appearances.

But the trench warfare featuring waves of volunteers (1500 to 2000) in May's critical 33rd Senate District race between winning Democrat Cecil Green and losing Republican Wayne Grisham may have given new life to the art of precinct walking. Few deny the volunteers' impact. For example, Demo volunteers passed out enough doughnuts to their voters to stretch clear across the 33rd District had they been laid edge-to-edge. More important, voter turnout reached 31 percent and 50 percent in many heavily-Democratic Hispanic precincts in Los Nietos, Santa Fe Springs, South Norwalk and South Whittier — an almost unheard-of percentage resulting from efforts organized by local Hispanic leaders and volunteers in those areas.

Precinct walking in California's outback can be drudgery at times, but it makes for good tale-spinning among friends long afterward. Like surviving Marine boot camp together, fellow precinct volunteers establish a tight and long-lasting bond and a repertoire of tall stories that links them forever.

In the 33rd Distrct special election, hundreds of state legislative employees (some on leave, some not) joined loyal party workers, a smattering of legislators, waves of union members, bused-in seniors, and ordinary citizens to work on 270,000 registered voters who live in the Orange and Los Angeles counties district. The volunteers rang doorbells, manned telephone banks, ran from dogs, had doors slammed in their faces, extracted absentee ballots from sometimes-reluctant voters and oversaw the distribution of $40,000 worth of doughnuts. They hung information packets during creepy, early-morning hours in sometimes-tough and ill-lit neighborhoods in Hawaiian Gardens and Norwalk and Cypress and South Whittier.

(The race itself was critical for both Republicans and Democrats and had been touted as the opening salvo in the struggle over control of the 1990 reapportionment of legislative and congressional districts. See page 335.)

The volunteers themselves came in many dimensions, from serious-eyed Young Republicans to taciturn and wrinkled veterans who first walked as kids for Franklin Roosevelt; from young lovers to party workers who can't stand each other; from cops and union members to PhDs. Each party claimed 1000 strong on election day, including chartered planeloads from Sacramento.

Walking for the Green-Grisham shoot-out had the disadvantage that comes with any special election — many voters didn't know or care much about it. Thus, there were queries such as, "We're choosing a new senator? What happened to Alan Cranston? Did he die?" Or curve balls such as "They're all crooks anyway." Or, "Oh yes, I intend to vote for Mr. Green. I see he's been endorsed by Mr. Grisham."

Although many voters tend to be

Robert Holmes is a veteran walker. In his spare time, he works as an aide to Democratic state Senator Robert Presley.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

apathetic and non-communicative, not so their dogs. Dogs have strong opinions, voice them vociferously and always seem to be rabid supporters of your candidate's opponent. They are rarely taken in by "nice doggie."

Dogs seem to come in three basic sizes: Big, *el grosso* and "Jee'sus Christ!!" The hesitant volunteer who values life or calves should tred softly around yards with chain-link fences, hanging a brochure on the gate instead. Also, a walker has to become accustomed to residents' dogs airing out their lungs at his approach.

Dogs aren't the only animal hazard. Last November a precinct walker was chased and harassed by a three-foot goose. Experts say a tall goose can be as ill-tempered as a dog.

Californians' fear of burglars, drug dealers and other unsavory characters is reflected by the vast number of chain-link fences, dogs, locked screen doors and "Neighborhood Watch" warnings. Those fears are also reflected by various door-to-door encounters: the residents who are home but won't come to the door; the man who opens the door with a knife in his hand; the sound of a shotgun being cocked on the other side of a screen door.

Those who most deserve combat pay are those who make the rounds the night before an election, armed only with a last-minute reminder and the address of the voter's polling place. Californians don't take kindly to people fiddling with their doorknobs after the sun goes down. It takes a certain fool-hardy dedication to tip-toe onto a porch at 5:30 a.m., aware of lurking dogs and an edgy, often-armed citizenry. The Green campaign added its own twist when volunteers early on election morning distributed tens of thousands of coupons (on Demo doorknobs) good for a dozen doughnuts for each voter who brought his or her ballot stub to a neighborhood pastry shop (the coupons made no plea to vote for Green and were legal).

Because it is such an unpredictable endeavor, precinct walking generates its own folklore. For example, former Assemblyman and Capitol raconteur John Quimby tells of a naive Assembly candidate who spent several weeks walking precincts in an area not part of his district — much to the delight of his opponents. The candidate lost. And then there was the volunteer who claimed she had to extract an absentee ballot from a man sitting in the altogether with two Persian cats on his lap. (In the movies, women answer the door dressed in open kimonos. In precinct walking that never happens — or, at least, it's never reported back at headquarters.)

As for walking itself, precinct volunteers usually start out from the candidate's headquarters after instructions and a pep talk from the candidate or from some local politico. Volunteers usually walk in pairs, equipped with bundles of brochures, precinct street maps and computerized pages listing street-after-street of the party's faithful. Each potential voter's name is marked with a symbol to indicate what happened at each stop: E,1,2,3,4,S,BD, NH (which can stand for Enthusiastic, Will Sign A Pledge Card, Committed But Won't Sign Pledge Card, Will Take Lawn Sign, Undecided, Strongly Antagonistic, Big Dog and Not At Home). Mastering this procedure takes about 40 blocks. Supposedly, the finished lists are analyzed by campaign bigwigs.

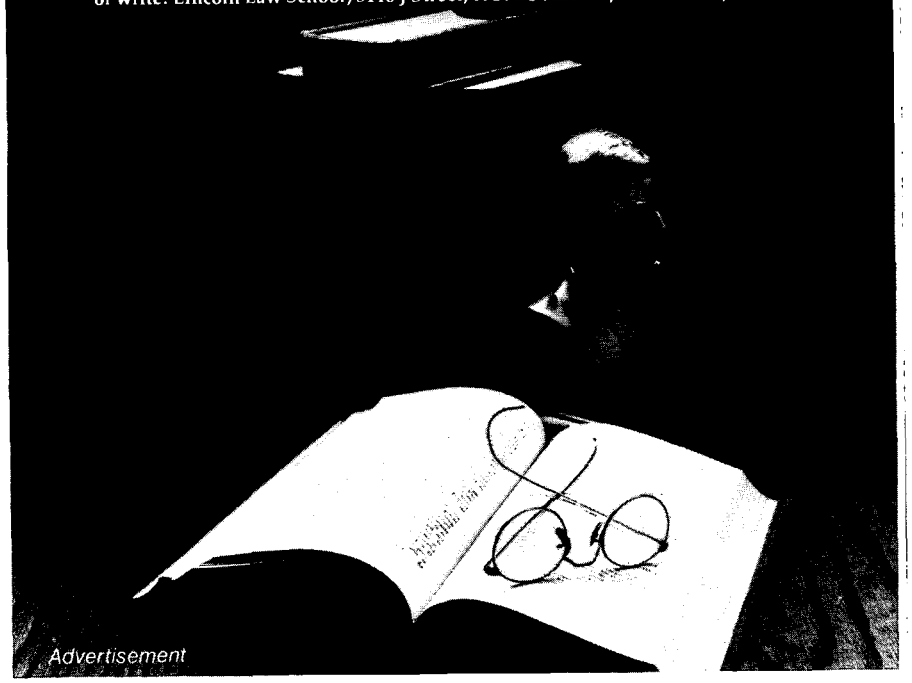
Voters' lists do not always prove accurate. Some people have moved or died, or both. Others simply lie: "No, no one by that name lives here." Inaccurate lists can also lead to comments like, "Hope to see you and your husband on election day" only to be told the husband died several years ago.

Modern living also brings new problems, like knocking on the door of what turns out to be a rock house. Among the spookiest places to walk are those dingy neighborhoods of row houses in faded areas of San Francisco — dimly-lit floors, few numbers, hard-to-place smells and who-knows-what going on behind the walls.

Is precinct-walking still viable? David Townsend, whose campaign firm relies heavily on direct-mail and TV ads, says there is still a role for precinct walking. "If you can do it, it's great. After all, candidates still try to get into the home in TV appearances. We send out letters in script."

The number of volunteers rounded up for (or coerced into) helping with the Green-Grisham race showed that both parties may be ready to dust off this time-honored campaign tactic in future elections.

Of course, most of the glory for managing a successful walking campaign goes to the political consultant and/or campaign manager who stage-managed and ramrodded the effort. And what of the unsung walkers? Surely they deserve a statue on the Capitol Park lawn in Sacramento — perhaps some granite chunk depicting a terrified volunteer leaping a chain-link fence just ahead of a lunging Mastif.

Lincoln Law School
of Sacramento
Fully accredited by the Committee of Bar Examiners of the State Bar of California
Apply now for Admission.
Phone 916/446-1275 • Mon.-Fri., 9am-8:30pm
or write: Lincoln Law School, 3140 J Street, P.O. Box 160328, Sacramento, CA 95816

Advertisement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Back in the spotlight with a little bit of pluck

By KATHERINE MacDONALD

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

A painting that hangs on state Senator Kenneth L. Maddy's office wall shows a groom washing down a thoroughbred horse. A few days before his recent elevation to minority leader of the state Senate, Maddy glanced at the painting — and into the past — and recalled, "That used to be me."

The son of laborer parents and who once worked as a hotwalker at race tracks, Maddy, 53, has traveled a very long road from his Southern California boyhood, but not as far (not yet anyway) as he was once thought certain to go.

In newspaper offices all around the state there are biographical files marked, "Maddy, Ken." The newspaper clippings in those files trace the political life of a young state legislator, a bright star shining on the Republican horizon who would almost surely wind up in the governor's office one day; an attorney who won a Fresno Assembly seat in 1970 and won reelection until he abandoned the seat in 1978 to run, unsuccessfully, for the Republican gubernatorial nomination; a successful 1979 race for a Fresno state Senate seat left vacant by the incumbent's judicial appointment; and, fast on the heels of the Senate win, election to the post of Senate Republican caucus chairman.

But virtually no articles date past 1983, when Maddy was ousted from his first Senate leadership position in a coup that also toppled then-Minority Leader William Campbell. Even before 1983, when he garnered so much press ink, Maddy wondered aloud to reporters whether he had "the fire in the belly" that it takes to run a statewide race.

State Senator Ed Davis, a Chatsworth Republican who ran second to Maddy's third in the 1978 Republican gubernatorial primary, commented, while Maddy was putting together the coalition that would make him minority leader, "I think he has discovered that fire in the belly recently. I think he's now saying, 'I want to get that clip file going again.'"

Continued on next page

Katherine MacDonald is a Capitol correspondent for the San Francisco Examiner.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maddy's ouster of former Minority Leader Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park came just two days after the electoral fiasco suffered by Republicans in the May special election for a Senate seat in the 33rd District (see page 335). Early in the race, Republicans had expected their candidate, Norwalk Assemblyman Wayne Grisham, to enjoy an easy victory over his obscure Democratic rival, Norwalk City Councilman Cecil Green. Instead, Green outpolled Grisham in the March primary (see "Ambush at Primary Pass," *CJ*, May 1987).

After the primary, Maddy walked into the Republican caucus and announced he was a candidate for minority leader. Nielsen and the Republican caucus chairman, John Seymour, asked Maddy and his allies to put the leadership fight on hold for the duration of the battle in the 33rd District. Thus, Maddy recalled, "We committed that we would halt all of our maneuvering, if you will, until after the race."

Green won the runoff handily and, less than 48 hours later, Nielsen bowed to the inevitable by asking the caucus to vote unanimously for Maddy. Maddy said in an interview shortly before the caucus vote that he would challenge Nielsen, whether Grisham won or lost the election. "It makes no difference," Maddy said. "There's more to it; there is never one issue that defeats a minority leader, or any leader. It's a perception, and a combination of things that...builds. And I think the Seymour-Nielsen regime has sort of reached that point."

There was an overriding issue, though, that brought Nielsen down: a perceived inability to win elections.

State Senator H.L. Richardson of Glendora said the Republican goal of gaining a majority in the Senate in the 1990 elections looked like it was slipping away. Although that election is still three years away, it is regarded as crucial because the ruling party elected that year will reapportion the state's Assembly, state Senate and congressional districts for the ensuing decade.

"We decided," Richardson said, "the chances of picking up the seats by 1990 were not that good (under Nielsen and Seymour), and we'd better make a change, bring in some new blood."

Richardson's role in the Maddy coup was ironic; five years earlier he had engineered the ouster of Campbell and Maddy. Richardson is one of the most conservative Republicans in the Senate; Maddy is a moderate.

"The conservatives," Maddy said of that 1983 ouster, "were not happy with us...there's no doubt that when Campbell and I were in leadership, the conservatives were sort of on the outside." And it's clear that Maddy learned something from that.

"The reality is," Maddy said, "our caucus is closely divided between the so-called conservatives and moderates. And the reality is that you have to carve out a coalition between the two. I have tried, in speaking with members of the caucus, to indicate that I think I can put together a decent working relationship using the talents of everybody in the caucus."

The most visible sign of the conservative-moderate coalition Maddy is trying to build is the new Republican caucus chairman — John Doolittle of Rocklin. As conservative as he is ambitious, Doolittle is a 37-year-old Richardson protege with the reputation of a street-smart politician who can win tough elections.

Maddy expressed confidence that "it will be easier for us to work together than many people think. I think John has grown a great deal since he's been in the Senate." But confidence comes easily in the glow of victory.

Others were less sanguine. Ed Davis echoed the thoughts of many around the Capitol when he described the Maddy-Doolittle partnership "the ultimate moderate in bed with the ultimate conservative. Alliances like that don't usually hold together over a long period."

It is, however, an alliance that got Maddy where he wanted to go. Republican Senator Robert Beverly, one of Maddy's closest friends in the Senate, said Maddy "has always been interested in being minority leader." Beverly is "not sure" whether Maddy will ever again run for governor or any other statewide office.

Maddy said he's not sure, either.

In the 1978 governor's race, Davis recalled, Maddy "was a damned attractive candidate. He raised a lot of money from agriculture and did a lot of TV (advertising). He had very good television; it scared the hell out of me. But then he ran out of money and he just sat still in the water."

The nomination went to then-Attorney General Evelle Younger. Davis, a former Los Angeles police chief who was then a political novice, believes Maddy was "hurt by his own honesty" when he admitted during the campaign that he had once experimented with marijuana. And Maddy's opposition to Proposition 13, which appeared on the ballot that year, "was a mistake, a bad mistake," Davis said.

The pot-smoking admission "didn't hurt me, I don't think," Maddy said. Asked if he would be so honest again, he answered, "Well, everybody told me how stupid I was to say it." Then he told a story about former Governor Jerry Brown being asked the same question, "and Jerry said something like, 'I always try to obey the law." That is obviously a more clever answer. But even then I always said it's so much easier to tell the truth, because they're gonna get you anyway. They (the press) are going to find out, so you might as well tell the truth."

Maddy agrees, however, that his opposition to Prop 13 did serious damage to his campaign. "I made a very anguished, long-term decision that Prop 13 would be harmful (to the state)," Maddy said. "But I did not have all the facts. If I had known there was a $7 billion, instead of a $2 billion, surplus, I might have made a different decision." Still, he added, "It doesn't make a lot of sense to keep a restriction solely on property taxation. So the logic of Prop 13 escapes me even today."

Maddy supported Paul Gann's 1979 spending limit but thinks "it could have been better-written, more clearly thought-out...the Gann limit never anticipated the AIDS crisis, the Coalinga earthquake, the amnesty program or the secondary wave of immigrants from all over the country into California. We have to find ways to deal with the special problems that are foisted upon the state that we can't anticipate."

Maddy delivers thoughtful analyses in slow, measured speech, and what he says often differs from GOP gospel. But he is perceived, in the 1980s, as toeing the Republican line more closely than he did during his years in the Assembly.

"I think I have an extremely independent voting record in Senate," he protested, conceding, "I am perhaps a little bit more conservative than I was, overall. I used to have a very, very liberal (Assembly) district. And I used to work very hard with labor and some of the other groups, and I think in many ways I'm perceived as not working as hard to satisfy those groups as I did...My liberal record has been more in the area of civil rights, civil liberties."

So, will Maddy ever again put that record before the voters on a statewide ballot?

In 1980, Maddy remembered, he declined to run for the U.S. Senate, withstanding "a lot of pressure to run against

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alan Cranston." He had been running for one office or another, almost continually, since 1976. He was going through a divorce. "So, I didn't do it then because I was just way too tired, I was tapped out in terms of enthusiasm."

The incumbency of George Deukmejian, who counts Maddy as an early and enthusiastic supporter, precludes, for the time being, another try for the top constitutional officer's job. In 1986, Maddy said, he decided not to run for one of the other constitutional offices, or the U.S. Senate because "there really wasn't any team effort by the Republicans to put together any sort of team."

Maddy believes his early run for the governor's office "certainly contributed" to the breakup of his first marriage.

In 1982 he married Norma Foster, widow of the owner of the Foster Farms chicken company. The marriage catapulted Maddy into the ranks of Central Valley agri-business multi-millionaires who have given so much to Maddy's campaigns over the years. Rumors around Sacramento paint Norma Foster-Maddy, who is a member of the state's new Commission on Self-Esteem, as an ambitious political wife who is eager for her husband to run for governor.

"Norma is supportive (of his career)," Maddy said. "At the same time, she has not experienced the kinds of pressures that would be present if I again undertook a statewide race." Maddy reflected, "I'm in a good position in my life, in terms of my remarriage and my family, (he and his wife are both grandparents) and what I'm doing. So why do you want to take on the additional problems? People say, 'Are you going to run?' And I have to ask myself, 'What's wrong with where I'm at?'"

Maddy worried aloud that, as governor, he would no longer have enough time for his family, enough time for himself. "Look at George Deukmejian's life...He drives to work with a car in front and a car behind. He gets there early and he stays in that office and works, goes out to make public appearances...I played tennis this morning from 7 to 8:30. I like to play golf. How do you do that as governor? I'm not sure he has the freedom to do that. So those are all the factors that you weigh. It's a tough decision."

Still, Maddy allowed, "All of us who are in politics have enough ego that when they see the opportunity, and people start to write about you, and say you're marketable and all that sort of thing — it's there."

Most of Maddy's legislative colleagues consider him as substantive as he is marketable. Opposition Democrats, as well as fellow Republicans, speak of his intelligence and integrity, good looks and winning personality, understanding of the legislative process and ability to compromise.

Maddy's friend and GOP colleague Bob Beverly said he would make "a very attractive candidate" for statewide office, with a strength that comes from "a combination of ability, appearance and dedication to hard work."

Only partially in jest, Davis said, "You have to admire a guy who never gets a politician's belly. You know what it looks like in the Senate, all the bellies hanging out. Ken has a lot of discipline."

There must be weaknesses in all this virtue. "No, not really," claimed Beverly, who then complained that Maddy, who is still a devotee of race tracks, "can't pick winning horses."

Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan, the Democrat who holds what is, after reapportionment, the closest thing to Maddy's old Assembly seat, was also asked about Maddy's weaknesses. Bronzan thought. He thought some more. He grinned. "He's a Republican," he said.

Advertisement

CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM

NOW AVAILABLE!!! SOFTWARE THAT ASSISTS IN BOTH FUND RAISING EFFORTS AND FEDERAL/STATE REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

WHY CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM?

1. Proven seven year use on a mini computer . . . Converted to run on IBM PC (XT, AT) or compatibles using MS or PC DOS.
2. Supported by CPAs with extensive FEC knowledge and experience in handling three senatorial campaigns, one congressional campaign, one gubernatorial, and several political action committees.
3. Guaranteed satisfaction or money back.
4. Guaranteed updates to comply with regulations.
5. Ideal for both candidate and political action committees.
6. FEC approved all lines summary page.
7. FPPC approved.

MAIN MENU

1 = Load client
2 = Enter and edit contributor master
3 = Enter and edit vendor files
4 = Enter and edit cash receipts
5 = Enter and edit cash disbursements
6 = Occupation code file maintenance
7 = Display total pledged and paid
8 = Year end processing
9 = Print Fec Summary Report
10 = Print Fec Form 3/3x

REPORTS MENU

1 = Contributor list — alpha
2 = Contributor master list
3 = Vendor master list
4 = Receipt transaction list
5 = Disbursement transaction list
6 = Mailing labels
7 = Pledges
8 = Itemized receipts
9 = Itemized disbursements
10 = Information request
11 = Contributions by state
12 = Occupation list
13 = Set printer control codes
14 = Letter generation

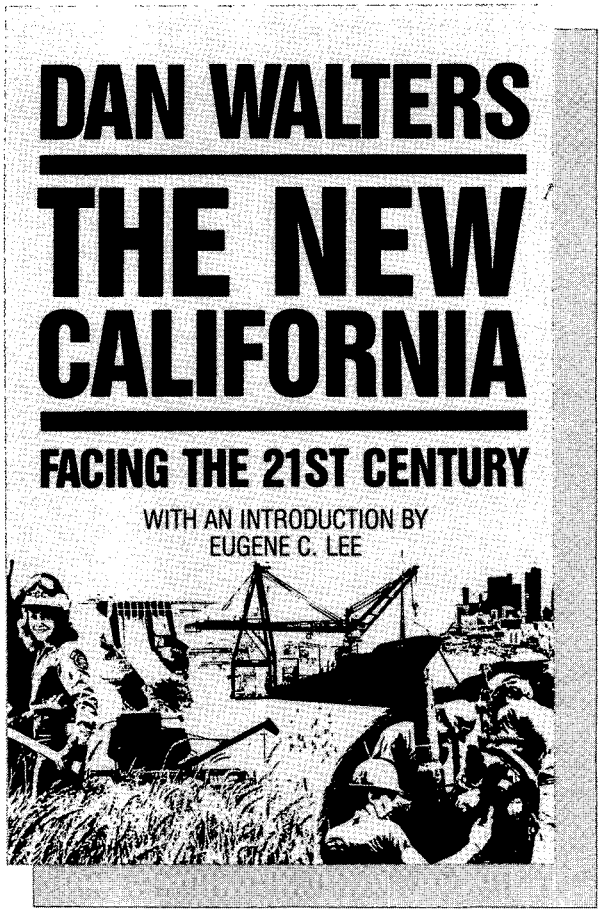
CALL COLLECT:
Thomas Karlsen, CPA
1436 North 44th Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85008
602-952-8180 / 800-334-1436

From $595.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

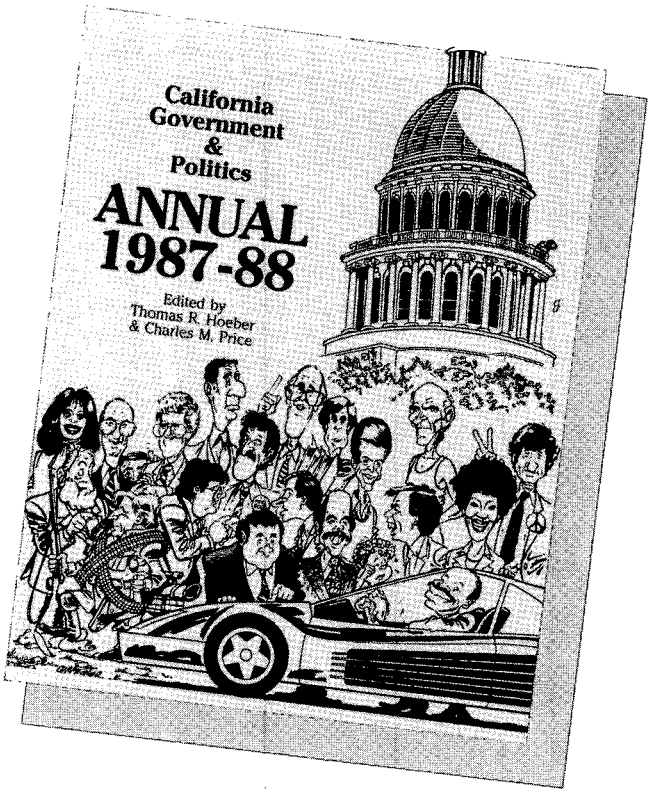
Two new books from CALIFORNIA Journal



The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters
with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee.* The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series is now available in book form. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.



California Government and Politics Annual

Thomas R. Hoeber and Charles M. Price

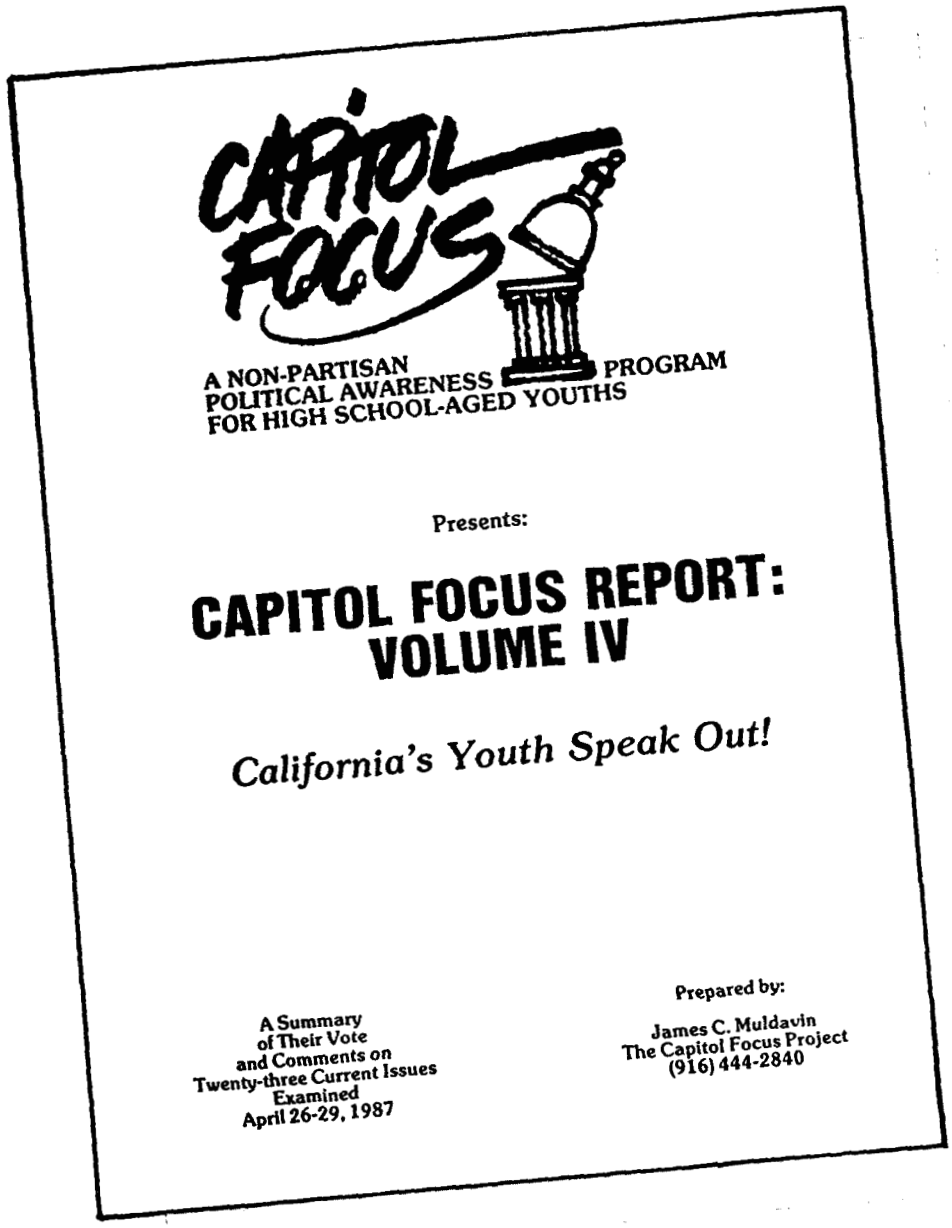
The brand-new-18th edition of *California Journal's* **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. But it is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of Government and current political issues.

The 1987-88 edition contains the popular 'Quick Guide to State Government and Politics and chapters on the various branches of government; lobbying; parties, politics and elections; citizen democracy; and local government. The 128-page large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $5.95.

Please add 6% sales tax to all orders. Write your order in on the handy insert card, or write your own order and send it with payment (Visa and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.

CONNECTED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITOL FOCUS REPORT: NOW AVAILABLE !!


CAPITOL FOCUS
A NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL AWARENESS PROGRAM FOR HIGH SCHOOL-AGED YOUTHS
Presents:
CAPITOL FOCUS REPORT: VOLUME IV
California's Youth Speak Out!
A Summary of Their Vote and Comments on Twenty-three Current Issues Examined April 26-29, 1987
Prepared by:
James C. Muldavin
The Capitol Focus Project
(916) 444-2840

....mountain-lion management, motorcycle helmets, bilingual education, judicial reform, drug testing, AIDS education, water, tort reform, private prisons, child care, school-based health clinics, minimum wage, death penalty, toxics, campaign reform, electronic surveillance, abortion....

TO FIND OUT WHAT CALIFORNIA'S YOUTH THINK

Please send $1.50 per copy
plus 6% sales tax to:

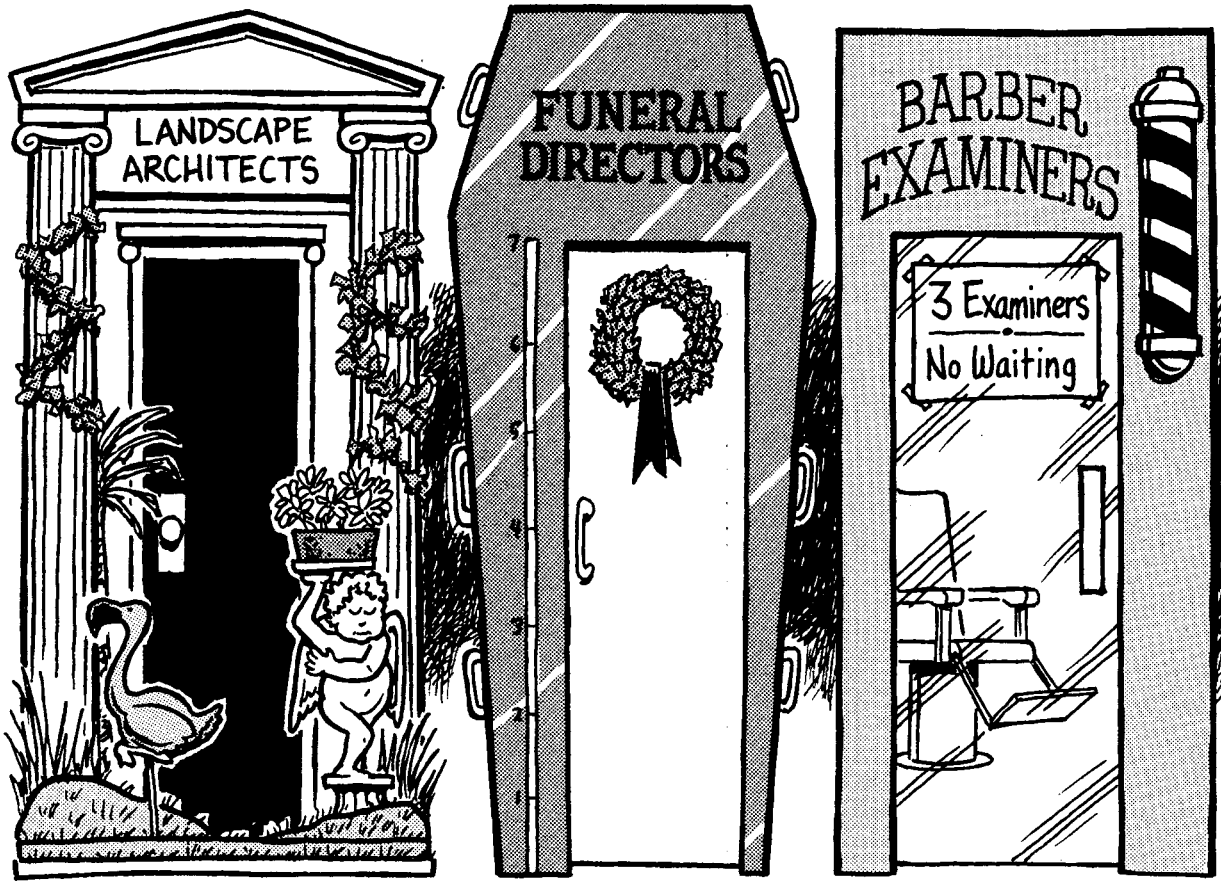
CAPITOL FOCUS REPORT, 1714 CAPITOL AVENUE, SACRAMENTO, CA 95814

(Our next program, October 25th-28th in Sacramento)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do consumer board

By TERES



Most Californians probably don't know it, but their state government cuddles and coddles them from most every vagary of life.

Not only are people protected from bad doctors and sleazy lawyers, through its vast licensing power the state also screens and monitors those who shave whiskers and snip locks, design lawns, embalm corpses, figure taxes, hold auctions and otherwise engage in some 60 professions and trades.

Each year legislators are asked to license still more trades, including financial planners and interior designers, patrol dog operators and dieticians, travel consultants and even astrologers.

All in the noble name of guarding the public health, welfare and safety — right? Consumer protection at its best?

Or, is the unending urge to license just one big scam to protect an industry by limiting practitioners and bestowing a state seal of approval on the whole devious enterprise? San Diego law professor Robert Fellmeth, for one, calls many licensing boards "scorpions' clubs," in honor of the crusty critters who form a circle and point their stingers outward when under attack.

Choose your side. The great regulatory debate is about to begin — again.

For the first time in eight years, California's licensing boards and commissions are coming under broad legislative scrutiny. From the powerful State Bar of California to the obscure Cemetery Board, these boards dictate the professional fate of millions of people by erecting minimum competency requirements, administering licensing exams and disciplining errant practitioners.

Despite their enormous influence, however, most boards and commissions operate virtually outside of public view.

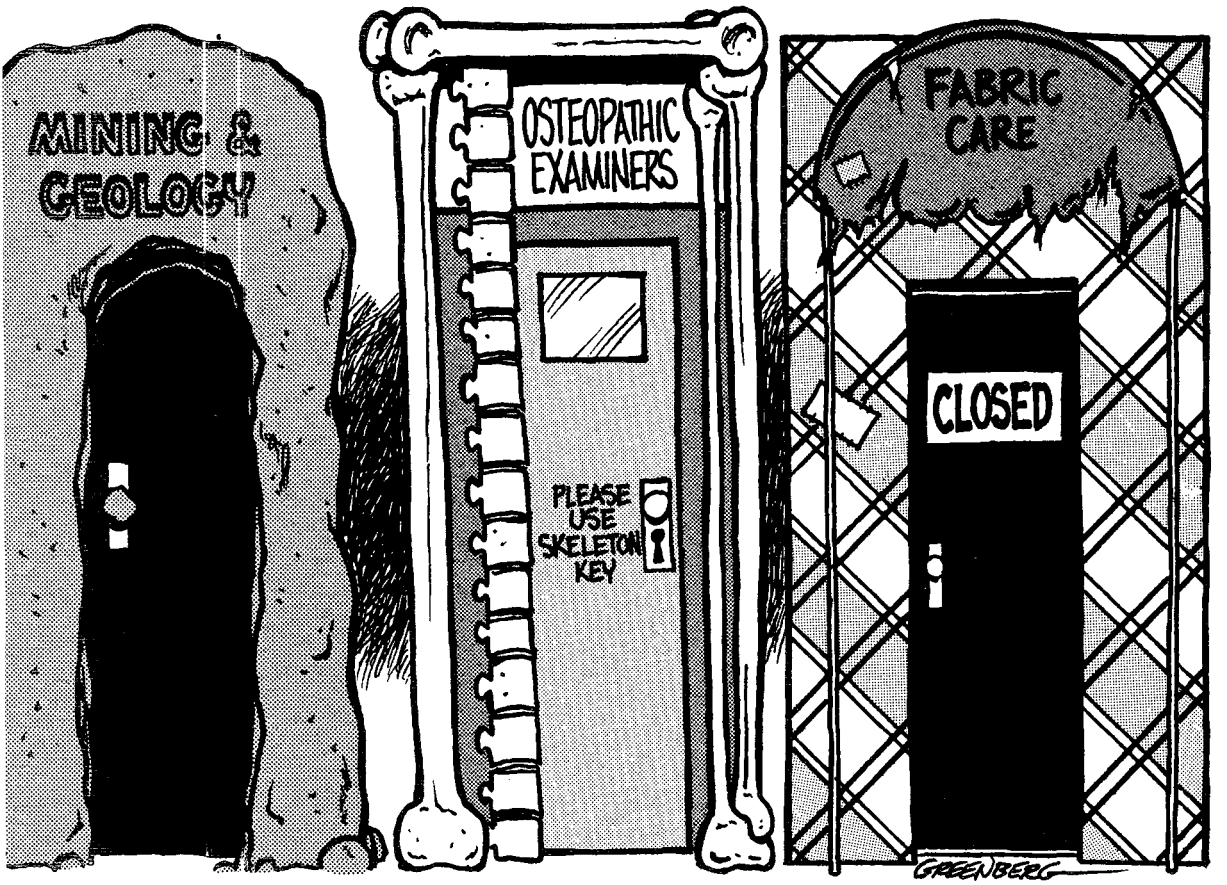
"One of the tragic realities of politics is that not

Teresa Watanabe is a Capitol correspondent for the San Jose Mercury News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protect the public?

ATANABE



enough people look closely at the regulatory process," said Walter Zelman, executive director of Common Cause. "Yet so much is going on there and it has so much impact on so many people."

This year promises to be different.

Assemblyman Rusty Areias, the Los Banos Democrat who heads the Governmental Efficiency and Consumer Protection Committee, has launched an extensive review of the enforcement programs of all boards and bureaus. His first target for scrutiny is the Contractors State License Board, which is plagued with a growing backlog of 12,000 consumer complaints, a $25 million budget surplus and repeated charges of mismanagement. A day-long committee hearing was held May 29th in San Diego, where much of the backlog is growing.

A more direct blow is coming from Senator Dan Boatwright, a Concord Democrat. Inspired by the abolition of the Board of Fabric Care last year — the first successful elimination of a licensing agency in California — Boatwright has proposed merging or eliminating several boards.

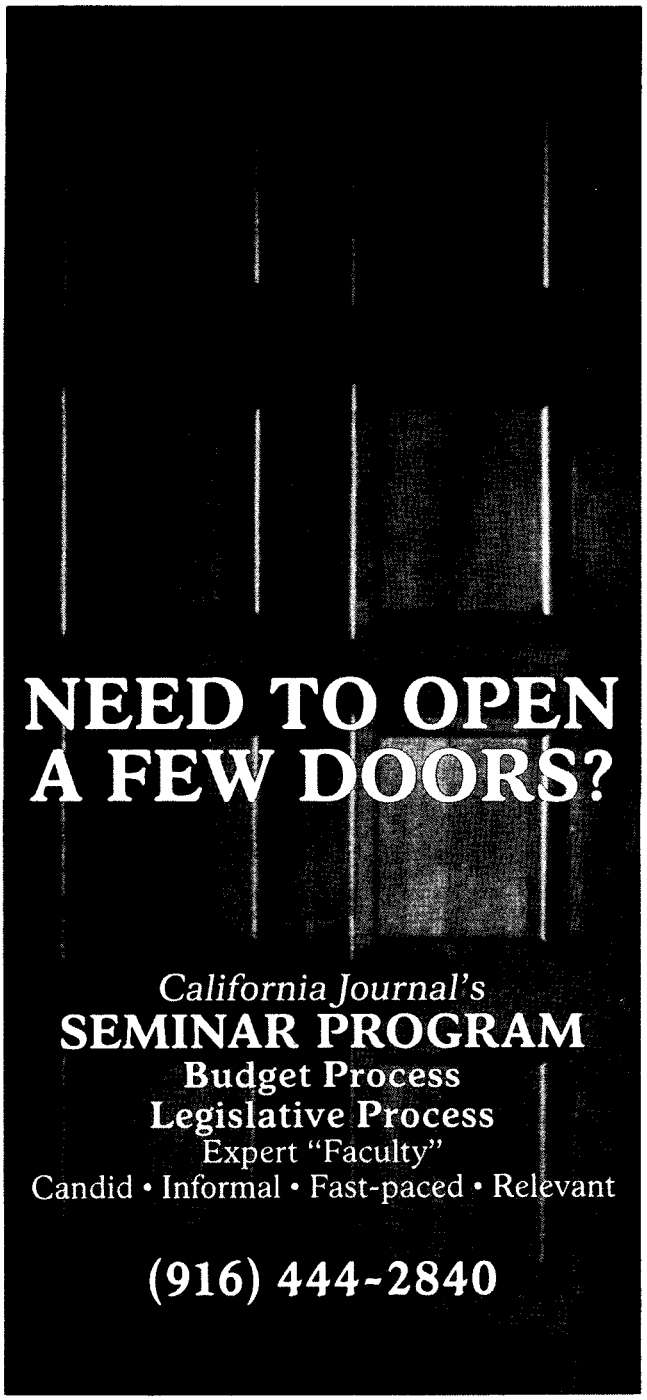
"Once these boards are established, they tend to build a little empire or dynasty around themselves, and they forget what they were formed for, which is to protect the public," Boatwright said. "Some of these boards are just doing nothing, absolutely nothing. Complaints are made; they never take action on the complaints.

"I just hope that the legislators who sit on these committees have the intestinal fortitude to ignore the self-serving interests of the people and really take a look and see what the boards are doing based on independent review," Boatwright said.

At Boatwright's request, the non-partisan legislative analyst reviewed several boards and has recommended that four be abolished: the Board of Registration for Geologists and Geophysicists, the Board of Landscape Architects, the Tax Preparers Program and the California Auctioneer Commission. The office also recommended mergers of the Cemetery Board into the Board of Funeral Directors and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement



SCHEDULE

July 10	HIDDEN LAWS — COPING WITH THE REGULATORY PROCESS	Sacramento
Aug. 14	BILL TRACKING AND ANALYSIS	Sacramento
Aug. 21	THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS	Irvine
Sept. 18	ALL ABOUT THE GANN LIMIT	Sacramento

Embalmers; the Board of Barber Examiners into the Board of Cosmetology and the Board of Guide Dogs for the Blind into the Department of Rehabilitation.

"We feel many special-interest groups seek state licensing in order to enhance their business image and to give them an appearance of legitimacy," said Wayne Keithley of the legislative analyst's office. "State licensing also helps them limit entry."

In 1979 no legislator was willing to carry a bill abolishing several boards targeted by then-Governor Jerry Brown and the legislative analyst. This year, however, Boatwright and Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy of Fresno introduced legislation incorporating the analyst's recommendations. The Deukmejian administration is supporting abolition of the geologist and tax-preparer boards, opposing the guide-dog merger and studying the others.

Areias

Boatwright

And the howls are reverberating throughout California.

"This is an excellent, excellent lesson on why the Legislature probably does not follow up on the idea of eliminating state bureaucracy," said Dian Self, a consultant with Boatwright's office. "It's really easy to talk about it, but once you start doing it, people come out of the woodwork, screaming."

Boatwright's office has been deluged with letters, postcards and phone calls from groups ranging from the California Seismic Safety Commission to the California Council for the Blind. But Self and others view the furor as a prime opportunity to do what lawmakers have managed to avoid doing for years: set forth a clear rationale for regulation and begin measuring all boards by it.

"The Legislature all the time is asked to create more of these things," Self said. "The question is what philosophical basis or political philosophy are we going to use to continue adding to or eliminating boards regulating professionals?"

That question may be answered at a Fall hearing on the Boatwright bills. Senator Joseph Montoya, the El Monte Democrat who heads the Business and Professions Committee, has asked that all but the tax-preparers bill be put aside for study during the legislative break. Although such "interim study" often is used to quietly kill controversial bills, both Montoya and Boatwright vow they will use the hearings for meaningful scrutiny and reform of the licensing process.

"There has to be a better balance between the public interests and the concerns of those professions that are being regulated," Montoya said. "I think invariably over time in any administration, these boards end up protecting the interests of the people that they're supposed to oversee and the disciplinary kinds of things get lost."

As one possible middle ground, Montoya and Boat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wright are discussing a superboard to replace the six targeted agencies. Such a board would consist of one or two members from each abolished agency and a generous sprinkling of public members — a deliberately eclectic mix designed to prevent any single industry from dominating, the legislators said.

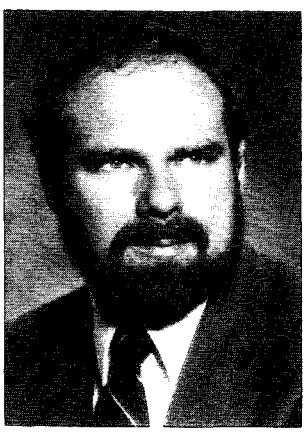
Fellmeth, probably the state's premier expert on licensing boards, argues that Californians are currently getting the worst of both worlds from their regulatory process. Either the licensing boards are wholly unnecessary, acting mainly as cartels for trades with no potential of imposing the kind of serious public harm that would justify state intervention, or the boards are needed but fail to monitor licensees and impose the discipline necessary to truly protect the public health and welfare.

In a 1985 article on regulatory reform, Fellmeth determined as useless the boards for landscape architects, behavioral scientists, cosmetologists, geologists, psychologists, professional engineers, shorthand reporters and car dealers. Over the years many of the same groups have been singled out for mergers or abolition by an independent review board, the Little Hoover Commission, former Governor Brown, the Department of Consumer Affairs and the legislative analyst.

The landscape architects board, for instance, has revoked just one license and suspended two among its 1950 licensees in the last three years. It collected no fines. It receives fewer than 150 complaints annually — and in 1984-85, more than 60 percent of the complaints were outside the board's jurisdiction anyway. A broad range of professionals performing the same services are exempted from regulation — including architects, engineers and landscape designers of irrigation and golf course projects.

Its major achievements, according to the Department of Consumer Affairs 1985-86 annual report, were revision of the California section of the national licensing exam, com-

Cecil



Fellmeth

pletion of a rules booklet and a campaign against unlicensed contractors.

The geologists board, another perennial target for elimination, has revoked only one license in the past 18 years. The legislative analyst also found that 77 percent of current licensees were "grandfathered" in, or given licenses without having to take the exam. That statistic, critics say, belies the claim that the board insures competency through its exam and licensing process.

The analyst concluded that users of landscape and geological services tend to be corporations or government agencies with the ability to independently assess competency and to sue in court over botched jobs. Thus, state intervention is unnecessary, the analyst said.

On the other side of the same coin, both the State Bar and the Board of Medical Quality Assurance have come under attack in the past year for placing the public at risk by consistently failing to identify and discipline incompetent attorneys and doctors.

Although the number of practicing doctors in California swelled to an all-time high in 1985, the BMQA levied the lowest number of disciplinary actions in its 10-year history. Doctors who sexually assaulted, mutilated and misdiagnosed patients are among those still licensed to practice.

At the same time, the board is coming under widespread attack for posing extraordinary barriers to graduates of foreign medical schools. Montoya, among others, is investigating the problem as an attempt to limit market competition in the name of "quality."

But such criticisms are not unique to the medical board. Boards regulating dentists, podiatrists, accountants, contractors and psychologists also have been criticized for failing to police their own.

"Regulation in the form of prior-restraint licensing is an extraordinary act," said Fellmeth, whose *California Regulatory Law Reporter* monitors all of the state's regulatory agencies. "It really is our perception of the Soviet Union —

Boards and commissions

Board of Accountancy
Board of Architectural Examiners
Athletic Commission
Auctioneer Commission
Bureau of Automotive Repair
Board of Barber Examiners
Board of Behavioral Science Examiners
Cemetery Board
Board of Chiropractic Examiners
Bureau of Collection and Investigative Services
Contractors State License Board
Board of Cosmetology
Board of Dental Examiners
Bureau of Electronic and Appliance Repair
Board of Fabric Care
Board of Funeral Directors and Embalmers
Board of Registration for Geologists & Geophysicists
Board of Guide Dogs for the Blind
Bureau of Home Furnishings
Board of Landscape Architects
Board of Medical Quality Assurance
Acupuncture Examining Committee
Hearing Aid Dispensers Examining Committee
Physical Therapy Examining Committee
Physician's Assistants Examining Committee
Podiatry Examining Committee
Psychology Examining Committee
Speech Pathology and Audiology Examining Committee
New Motor Vehicle Board
Board of Examiners of Nursing Home Administrators
Board of Optometry
Board of Osteopathic Examiners
Bureau of Personnel Services
Board of Pharmacy
Board of Registration for Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors
Board of Registered Nursing
Board of Certified Shorthand Reporters
State Bar of California
Structural Pest Control Board
Tax Preparer Program
Board of Examiners in Veterinary Medicine
Board of Vocational Nurse & Psychiatric Technician Examiners

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

before you have a chance to do something, the state will tell you if you can.

"So it should only be done when it is justified. And when it is justified, do it — and I mean, do it," he said. "The problem we have in California is that when it's justified, they're not doing it; and when it's not justified, they're doing it."

Although Fellmeth, Consumer Affairs and the legislative analyst all have established their own systems for evaluating boards, industries complain the standards are subjective or irrelevant.

Joe Heath, executive officer of the Board of Landscape Architects, maintained that his agency is persistently targeted "because we're small and because of the preconceived notion of what landscape architects do — that they drive '64 Chevy pickups with lawnmowers in the back."

In fact, he said, landscape architects perform such important work as deciding where to place buildings and how to plan sod and sprinkler systems to minimize fire hazards. And if they don't install a drainage system just right, "you might have problems with mosquitoes," he warned.

Perhaps inadvertently, Heath also acknowledged other major reasons why so many trades clamor for regulation — reasons that have more to do with protecting the industry than the consumer.

"If he's not regulated by the state, he doesn't have a stamp anymore and he's subservient," Heath said. When Oregon abolished its board, he added, landscape architects could no longer get liability insurance; they lost jobs to engineers and architects and many got put out of business.

Tom Cecil, deputy director of the state Consumer Affairs Department, said a common criticism is that many boards focus on ferreting out unlicensed activity, rather than uncovering the abuses of those who hold licenses. The geologist board, for instance, oversees 5700 practitioners but in 1985-86 received only 54 complaints — 85 percent of which involved unlicensed activity.

"There's a question in quite a few people's minds as to whether that should be the highest priority, as opposed to abusers of licenses," Cecil said.

There are a variety of reasons for the state's imperfect regulatory system. Critics say a key one is that many boards are conceived and controlled by the industry itself, rather than by consumers. Brown attempted to change the bias in 1976 by signing what he called "the most far-reaching consumer protection bill in the United States" — legislation to place on most boards a majority of members drawn from the general public rather than from the industry.

In the last few years, however, a growing number of both Republicans and Democrats have sponsored bills to increase industry members. Since 1983 at least 16 bills have surfaced to increase industry members on boards ranging from dental examiners to accountants.

In addition, a number of groups have accused the Deukmejian administration of appointing public members who serve as shills for the industry. According to the Sierra Club, for instance, three public members on the Board of Forestry nearly always vote with timber interests. On the medical board, one of the public members "sounds just like another doctor," Montoya said.

To prevent any potential conflicts of interest, people like Fellmeth urge that all members on all boards be public, assisted on technical matters if necessary by professional advisory committees. But Cecil and Montoya see value in industry members.

"They are sensitive to the practical implications of regulation and are familiar with issues," Cecil said. "I think it's insulting to any individual to say that simply because they are this or that, they lack the ability to make anything but a self-serving decision."

Other boards simply lack the resources to vigorously monitor and discipline their professions. Although the BMQA has been accused of shilling for doctors, it also lacks enough legal authority to do the job. As a result, Assemblyman Richard Floyd, a Gardena Democrat, has introduced a bill giving the board tough new powers to restrain and help prosecute incompetent doctors.

The contractor, cosmetology and dental boards are among those that say they need more inspectors and investigators to process the flood of consumer complaints.

Whether the new scrutiny on licensing boards will result in fundamental reform is far from certain. Many legislators are loathe to pick a fight with a powerful special interest when the consumers who might benefit are a diffuse, unorganized force.

In addition, board proponents argue that general tax dollars are not at issue, since funding comes from special fees on industry. (Consumer groups counter that the fees are passed on to the public in the form of a state-imposed, hidden tax.)

"The argument for keeping them is that they should be directed to do something," said Steve English, a senior consultant with the Senate Business and Professions Committee. "When they were mandated, they were mandated for a reason. If they're not doing their job, that's not necessarily a reason to take them out — maybe they just need more legislative guidance."

Reform proponents were heartened — and frankly surprised — when the Senate Business and Professions Committee in May approved Boatwright's bill to abolish the tax-preparers' program, despite the passionate testimony of several opponents. Still, they are cautious.

"We have a real problem in Sacramento getting anyone to look at anything on the merits. There's too much of 'who's for and who's against?' going on," Fellmeth said.

"I don't know if legislators can respond to protecting the public, which is not focused, against a group of people who are focused, like the tax preparers," Boatwright said. "Maybe we'll never be able to do anything. But I have to try."

Advertisement

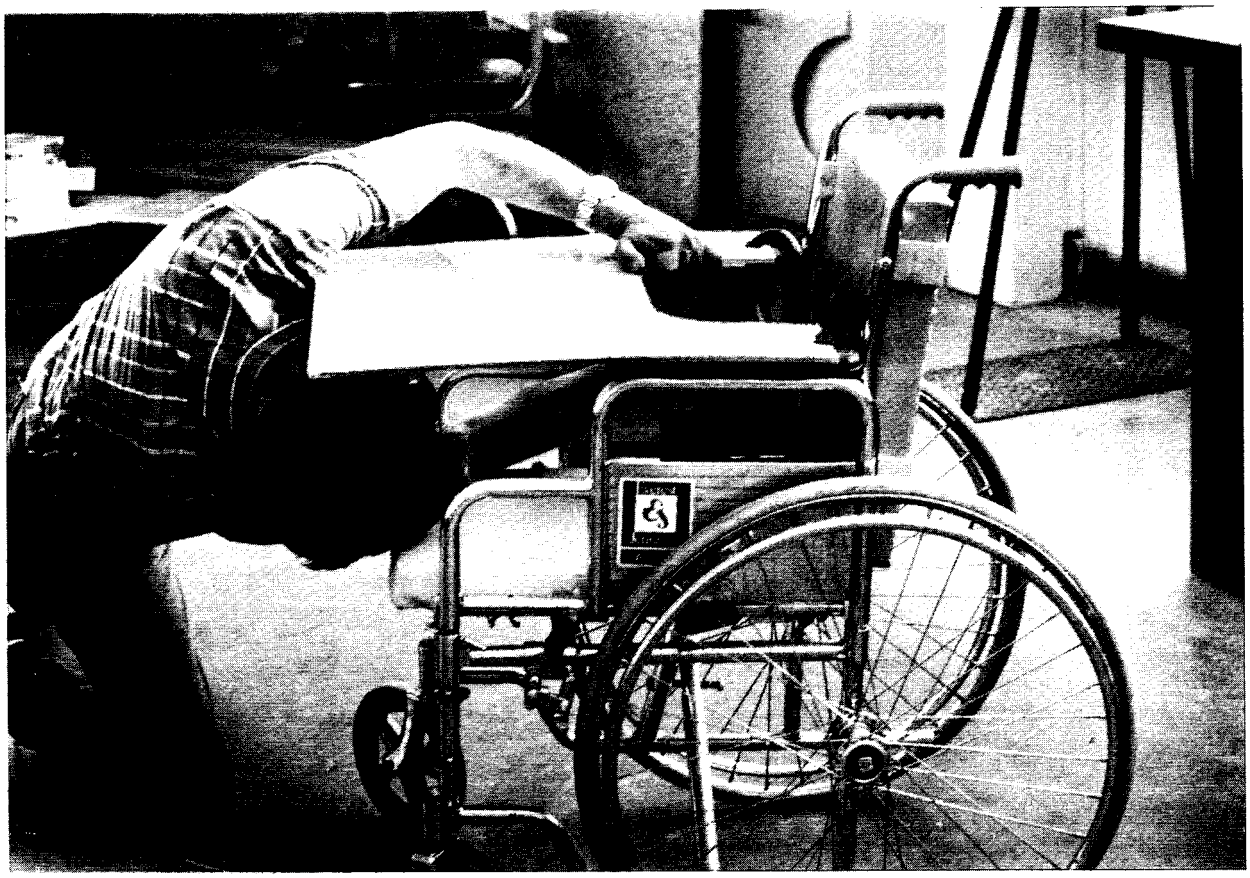
When It Really, Really Has To Make The Ballot ...

American Petition Consultants has a **100% success rate** in qualifying over thirty ballot measures throughout the United States.

For the best in signature gathering and voter registration, contact **Michael D. Arno at 916/443-7767.**

AMERICAN PETITION CONSULTANTS
920 20th St., Suite 202 • Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A helping hand ... when you need it most.

Extending a helping hand is not just a meaningless phrase to state workers who are CSEA members. It means something to us. It means being on the job and ready and able to help those who need it most: the sick, the injured, the jobless and the destitute. It can mean customizing a wheelchair or specially shaping other support devices. This opportunity to really make a difference in someone's life is what attracted most of us to state service. We're proud of the role we play in making California a good place to live in, work in and raise your kids in ... isn't that what life's all about? CSEA thinks so.

This message brought to you by the California State Employees' Association (CSEA)
Local 1000, Service Employees International Union
1108 O Street, Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROLL CALL

AIDS WARNING

AB 250 (Hughes) Would allow doctors to warn a spouse that his or her marriage partner tested positive for AIDS antibodies without the partner's consent. Passed the Assembly May 18th, 62-8.

SPEED LIMIT

AB 669 (Katz) Increases the speed limit to 65 mph along more than 1150 miles of rural interstate highways in California. Passed the Assembly April 9th, 62-8; Passed the Senate May 14th, 34-0. Signed by the governor.

ELECTION DAY REGISTRATION

AB 1204 (Chacon) Would allow voters to register to vote at election-day polls if they swore they would not vote at any other address. Opponents said the proposal would increase the possibility of voter fraud. Passed the Assembly June 4th, 41-38.

TOLL ROADS

AB 2589 (Frizzelle) Would allow counties to authorize toll road construction and operation by either the private sector or the county itself. Passed the Assembly May 28th, 41-30.

WATER PLAN

SB 32 (Ayala) Would resurrect many features of the 1982 Peripheral Canal proposal to build a canal bypassing the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and increase water shipments to Southern California. Passed the Senate June 8th, 21-15.

COUNTY SALES TAX

SB 142 (Deddeh) Would allow a county to seek voter approval of sales tax increases to finance transportation improvements, without first getting approval of the Legislature. Passed by Senate May 7th, 22-8.

SENATE

Democrats	AB 669	SB 32	SB 142
ALQUIST	Y	*	Y
AYALA	Y	Y	Y
BOATWRIGHT	Y	N	*
DEDDEH	Y	Y	Y
DILLS	*	Y	N
GARAMENDI	*	N	Y
C. GREEN	•	Y	•
B. GREENE	*	Y	N
L. GREENE	Y	N	Y
HART	Y	N	*
KEENE	Y	N	Y
LOCKYER	Y	N	Y
MARKS	Y	N	Y
MC CORQUODALE	Y	N	Y
MELLO	Y	N	N
MONTOYA	*	Y	*
PETRIS	Y	N	*
PRESLEY	Y	Y	Y
ROBBINS	Y	*	Y
ROBERTI	Y	Y	Y
ROSENTHAL	Y	N	N
TORRES	Y	*	*
VUICH	Y	Y	*
WATSON	Y	*	N

Republicans	AB 669	SB 32	SB 142
BERGESON	Y	Y	Y
BEVERLY	Y	Y	Y
W. CAMPBELL	Y	Y	*
CRAVEN	Y	Y	*
DAVIS	Y	Y	Y
DOOLITTLE	Y	N	N
ELLIS	Y	Y	Y
MADDY	Y	Y	Y
MORGAN	Y	N	Y
NIELSEN	Y	N	Y
RICHARDSON	Y	Y	*
ROGERS	Y	Y	N
ROYCE	Y	Y	N
RUSSELL	*	Y	Y
SEYMOUR	Y	Y	Y

Independent			
KOPP	Y	N	Y

* indicates absent or not voting
• indicates not eligible

ASSEMBLY

Democrats	AB 250	AB 669	AB 1204	AB 2589
AGNOS	N	Y	Y	N
AREIAS	Y	Y	Y	*
BANE	Y	*	Y	*
BATES	N	*	Y	N
BRONZAN	*	Y	Y	N
W. BROWN	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALDERON	*	Y	Y	Y
R. CAMPBELL	*	N	Y	N
CHACON	Y	N	Y	N
CLUTE	Y	Y	N	N
CONDIT	Y	*	*	N
CONNELLY	N	N	Y	*
CORTESE	*	Y	Y	*
COSTA	Y	Y	Y	N
EASTIN	Y	Y	Y	N
EAVES	Y	*	Y	Y
ELDER	Y	Y	Y	N
FARR	*	Y	Y	Y
FLOYD	Y	Y	Y	N
FRIEDMAN	N	*	Y	N
HANNIGAN	Y	Y	Y	N
HARRIS	Y	Y	Y	N
HAUSER	Y	Y	Y	N
HAYDEN	*	N	Y	N
HUGHES	Y	Y	Y	N
ISENBERG	N	N	Y	Y
JOHNSTON	Y	Y	Y	N
KATZ	Y	Y	Y	Y
KILLEA	Y	N	Y	Y
KLEHS	N	Y	Y	N
MARGOLIN	N	N	Y	N
MOORE	Y	*	Y	N
O'CONNELL	Y	Y	Y	N
PEACE	Y	Y	Y	*
POLANCO	Y	Y	Y	Y
ROOS	Y	Y	Y	N
ROYBAL-ALLARD	Y	•	Y	N
SHER	N	Y	N	*
SPEIER	Y	N	Y	N
TANNER	Y	Y	Y	N
TUCKER	*	Y	Y	N
VASCONCELLOS	Y	*	Y	*
M. WATERS	•	*	Y	N
N. WATERS	Y	Y	Y	N

Republicans	AB 250	AB 669	AB 1204	AB 2589
ALLEN	Y	Y	N	Y
BADER	Y	Y	N	Y
BAKER	Y	Y	N	Y
BRADLEY	*	Y	N	Y
D. BROWN	Y	Y	N	Y
CHANDLER	Y	Y	N	Y
DUPLISSEA	Y	Y	N	Y
FELANDO	Y	*	N	*
FERGUSON	Y	Y	N	Y
FILANTE	Y	Y	N	*
FRAZEE	Y	Y	N	Y
FRIZZELLE	Y	Y	N	Y
GRISHAM	Y	Y	N	Y
HANSEN	Y	Y	N	Y
HARVEY	Y	Y	N	Y
HILL	Y	Y	N	Y
R. JOHNSON	Y	Y	N	Y
JONES	Y	Y	N	Y
KELLEY	Y	Y	N	Y
LA FOLLETTE	Y	Y	N	Y
LANCASTER	Y	Y	N	Y
LEONARD	Y	Y	N	Y
LESLIE	Y	Y	N	Y
LEWIS	Y	Y	N	Y
LONGSHORE	Y	Y	N	Y
MC CLINTOCK	Y	Y	N	N
MOJONNIER	Y	Y	N	Y
MOUNTJOY	Y	Y	N	Y
NOLAN	*	Y	N	Y
QUACKENBUSH	Y	Y	N	Y
SEASTRAND	Y	Y	N	Y
STATHAM	Y	Y	N	Y
STIRLING	Y	Y	N	Y
WRIGHT	Y	Y	N	Y
WYMAN	Y	Y	N	Y
ZELTNER	Y	Y	N	Y

* indicates absent or not voting
• indicates not eligible

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An investment that looks better as years go by.

Safe & Sound The Thomas Saf-T-Liner E.R.™ 78 to 90-passenger rear-engine coach can save you money today — real savings in driver costs, insurance costs, even fuel costs. And you'll call it a sound investment tomorrow, because it's built and backed in the Thomas tradition. Quality.

All Thomas buses are built to last — years longer. With less downtime. Fewer repairs and replacements. Lower life-cycle costs. Many more passenger miles. We put more quality into every Thomas Built Bus so you'll get more performance out.

You expect dependability, and Thomas delivers it. In fact, our Premiere Protection Plan℠ was the industry's first 5 year/50,000 mile warranty. It's your assurance that Thomas buses will continue to meet your transportation needs.

Unsurpassed warranty protection. Unsurpassed durability. They're two very important reasons why Thomas buses are so safe for your children. And such a sound investment for you.

Next time you buy a bus, trust the quality tradition at Thomas. Call your nearest Thomas distributor or write: Thomas Built Buses, P.O. Box 2450, High Point, NC 27261.

CALIFORNIA BUS SALES AND SERVICE CENTER:
2373 East Date Avenue, Fresno, California 93706; 1-800-331-6183; (209) 266-0167

A pacesetter company of United Way

Thomas Built Buses®
...a tradition in transportation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

California's primary

Senator Paul Simon looked out at a roomful of Des Moines' most-prominent business leaders and confidently assured them that they and their neighbors were still kingmakers when it came to picking presidents.

"YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE MORE TO SAY about it than the people of Illinois, California and New York combined," said Simon of Illinois, the only Democratic candidate for the White House who wears a bow tie like a badge of honor.

Simon's point was amply illustrated when the Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce made a pilgrimmage to Washington recently. Simon and fellow Democratic candidate Jesse Jackson worked opposite ends of the same table at a luncheon of the group, while Republican Alexander Haig politely permitted Democrat Richard Gephardt to speak first so that he could catch a plane. Republicans Jack Kemp and Robert Dole also stopped by the luncheon, while Vice President George Bush had the entire Des Moines delegation over to his mansion for canapes and cocktails one evening.

Of course, it's no secret why Iowans get such special treatment these days. As is customary, Iowa's caucuses and New Hampshire's primaries will open next year's race for the presidential nominations of the two major parties in February.

Consider the vivid contrast with giant California, which has become all but irrelevant to the business of picking presidential nominees.

Imagine the reception that the Chamber of Commerce of, say, Glendale or Walnut Creek might expect in Washington. They'd be lucky to get a couple of minutes with California's Alan Cranston, who'd quickly hand them off to an aide, and perhaps a brief audience with an acting deputy assistant secretary of commerce.

With its end-of-the-season primary in June, the nation's most-populous state has become an after-thought on the presidential primary calendar. The problem is not a new one, but it keeps growing worse with the trend toward what insiders call "front-loading" — the piling on of early primaries and caucuses as states compete for attention and influence.

Proposals to move California's primary to an earlier date have failed, mostly because it would cost an extra $10 million or so to hold an early presidential primary while preserving the traditional primary for state offices in June. Governor George Deukmejian has opposed any such two-primary plan for 1988. At last report, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown had failed to follow through on his proposal to switch from a primary to grass-roots caucuses for next year's Democratic presidential contest in the state.

Not that candidates aren't already spending plenty of time in California. The problem is that they're showing up mostly to harvest the campaign cash that is so amply available in Beverly Hills and, to a lesser extent, in Orange County, San Diego and San Francisco. Public appearances and press conferences are scheduled mostly as window-dressing, as the presidential candidates catch the red-eye to the West Coast in the frenzied search for fat cats.

If there's any hope for Californians who would like to share a smidgen of Iowa's clout in picking our president, it's that next year's battles could drag on interminably. Without an incumbent running, both parties might have wide-open races that would still be up for grabs all the way to California's belated primary.

Even if that does happen, however, many of the initial candidates in both parties are certain to be winnowed out by the merciless procession of primaries and caucuses between February and June, leaving Californians only a few bruised and battered survivors to choose from. This was the case in 1984 when challenger Gary Hart won California in a last, futile attack on Walter Mondale's claim to the Democratic nomination.

In truth, even an earlier California primary could not compete with Iowa and New Hampshire when it comes to fervent, grass-roots campaigning. The magic — and, some would say, the absurdity — of those early states is that presidential candidates must humble themselves to engage in what their strategists call "retail politics." That means they must work the precincts just like a local city council candidate, asking for votes one at a time. And that also means presidential candidates compete with pleading phone calls and personal visits for the endorsement of a well-connected Democratic committeewoman from Davenport or a top-notch precinct organizer from Nashua.

California is simply too vast for such one-on-one campaigning. Presidential candidates working the state inevitably would rely on staged media events and slick television commercials, just as do our statewide candidates.

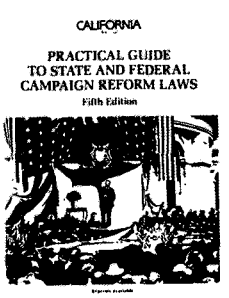
SOME RESIDENTS OF IOWA and New Hampshire, weary of candidates beseiging them at grocery stores and hectoring them with political junk mail, might say Californians are lucky not to be in the thick of the presidential primary battles.

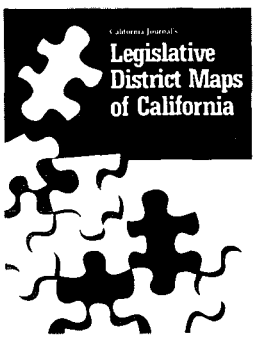
To some troubling extent, however, the primary debate shapes public policy, and California is not part of the debate. As long as the most-populous state's primary is so late in the game, presidential candidates are more likely to take positions on heating-oil prices for New Hampshire than on oil drilling off the coast of San Diego, and on subsidies for corn farmers in Iowa than on assistance for AIDS victims in San Francisco.

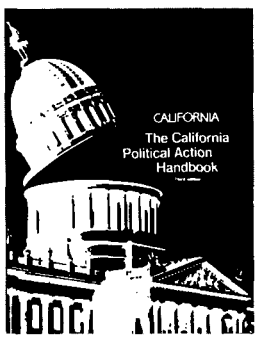
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS FROM CALIFORNIA JOURNAL

Five Inexpensive Booklets







Roster & Government Guide, 1987, contains the names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers of all the key players in California government; a list of state agencies, a legislative-process chart and plenty of other useful information. Price for the 16-page pamphlet: 100 or more copies, 33¢ each; 50-99 copies, 48¢ each; 2-49 copies, 85¢ each; single copy, $1.50.

Practical Guide to State and Federal Campaign Reform Laws by *Nielsen, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller.* This 16-page booklet, prepared in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format, explains the myriad new campaign reform laws. The 1986 edition reflects the most recent changes in the law. Copies are: 100 or more, 54¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 2-49 copies, 95¢ each; single copy, $1.95.

Legislative District Maps of California. Description of every Assembly, state Senate and Congressional district in California, including registration data and 10 maps. Also includes a brief history of reapportionment for the decade of the '80s. Price for this 8 ½ x 11", 16-page booklet: $1.50 ea.; 2-9 copies, 95¢ ea.; 10-49 copies, 75¢ ea.; 50 or more copies, 50¢ ea.

The California Political Action Handbook, Third Edition. This guide to the political game in Sacramento answers these questions: How can an organization or an individual win in Sacramento? What tactics should be applied when legislative emergencies arise? How can the bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won? Price for the 16-page, 8½ x 11" handbook; $1.95 ea. or 2-49 copies, 95¢ ea.; 50-99 copies, 74¢ ea.; 100 or more, 54¢ ea.

1987 Sacramento Political Visitor's Guide. A 20-page, full-color guide for persons visiting the capital for the purpose of making their voices heard in the political process. Contains maps of the downtown area and the Capitol building, information on the legislative process, where to wine and dine, places to stay and how to get around, 8½ x 11". $1.95 ea.; 2-49 copies, 99¢ ea.; 50-99 copies, 74¢ ea,; 100 or more, 49¢ ea.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How may of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9, 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1985-86. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, taxation, local government, the environment and much more. The book also includes a "Quick Guide to California Government and Politics." 8½ x 11, 128 pages. $5.95 paper.

California Public Administration, 2nd Ed., *by T. Anthony Quinn* and *Ed Salzman.* This guide to the state's bureaucracy contains sections on the impact of Proposition 13, top executives, regulatory agencies, Legislature, judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11, 112 pages. $4.95 paper.

The California Oath Controversy *by David P. Gardner.* The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hard cover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: $16.50. New discount price: $4.95.

Cartoon History of California Politics, *by Ed Salzman* and *Ann Leigh Brown.* An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 8, 156 pages, paperback. New discount price: $3.95.

Almanac of State Government and Politics, 1985-86. Fourth edition. Contains 193 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information and much more. 200 pages. $5.95 paper.

Binder: How about a binder to collect and preserve your *Journals*? A handsome gold-stamped naugahyde binder to hold one year's *Journals* is $8.95 (1970-86 dates available, or no date).

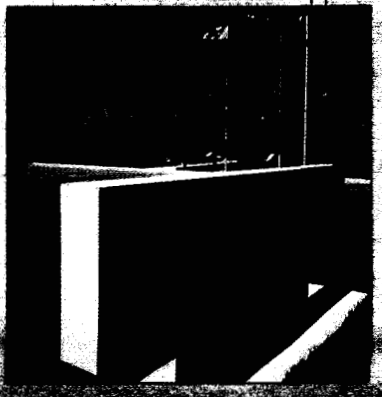
Index: A yearly index to the *California Journal* for fast and easy research turns your magazine into a state government reference library. $2.95 per year.

Please add 6% sales tax to all orders. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own order and send it with payment (VISA and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"State of the Art" Instant Lottery® Game Tickets

Scientific Games' new high-security, high-capacity printing facility in Gilroy, California provides "state of the art" Instant Lottery® Game tickets. This facility contributes to a healthy California economy by creating and providing jobs for Californians.



Scientific Games, Inc.

a subsidiary of Bally Manufacturing Corporation
8100 Camino Arroyo Drive
Las Animas Technology Park
Gilroy, California 95020
(404) 984-7777

Associate Member, North American Association of State & Provincial Lotteries
Associate Member, International Association of Lottery Manufacturers

LICENSED TO IINZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED